Race Problem – 1935.

Abyssinia.

Africa.

CONSEQUENCES OF MISGUIDED PUBLIC SENTIMENT COSTLY TO WORLD PEACE, PROGRESS

Union Students and Faculty Hear Guide Editor At Formal Opening of University; Propaganda Deplored

Journal and Guide Bureau

RICHMOND, Va. — The importance of clear thinking in these days was stressed by P. B. Young, editor of the Journal and Guide, in the principal address delivered at the formal opening of Virginia Union University here last week. He spoke from the subject, "Misguided Public Sentiment and Some of Its Consequences."

"College students," he said, "are supposed to think straight and clearly, to be intellectually honest. As far as I have been able to observe they are honest about it, at least they try to be. But what concerns us who have been out in the world some time, in the world of affairs, are the consequences of twisted thinking and its disastrous effect upon the welfare of the world. 10-19-35

"Not only is our country today confronted with serious questions, but the whole world faces most perplexing problems. In the matter of war, we are right back where we were twenty years ago. If we take the Italian-Ethiopian war we find that it is a oneman's war, and that Mussolini has been laying the plans since 1919, since the beginning of the Fascist Party in Italy, and that what has been required to put the Fascist Party in power in Italy inevitably led to war.

War and Mis-education

"And so we have a war that is built largely on a mis-education of the Italian people. And what are the things in which the Italian people have been misled? That Italy needs room for expansion, that Italy must fight in self-defense, that Italy must civilize Ethiopia. We know that Italy has colonies already, that give her one half million square miles of territory, and that not one percent of the population of these colonies are native Italians.

"We know that Italy does not need room for expansion. In one province of France alone there are one million Italians. In New York City alone there are probably as many more of them. There are Italians all over the world, and with a few exceptions where nations have laws restricting immigration the surface of the earth is open to Italians. But because Fascism means Nationalism Mussolini wants Italy to carry the flag of Fascism in a ruthless war to restore her as a great colonial empire.

Fooling The People

"Although pretending to be cramped for room, Italy is now enforcing laws compelling her people to raise large families so that the population which is less than fifty million will be raised by the increased birth rate to many more millions within a few decades.

"Then there is the question of self defense. Imagine Italy with the best air force in the world with one of the best armies and navies, telling the world that Italy needs to defend herself against Ethiopia, an inland country with no navy, no army, limited resources, nothing with which to commit a determined offensive. But we find Mussolini telling the people of Italy that Italy needs to go to war to defend herself against agression.

Another Pretense

"The next pretense is that Italy has a minfest destiny to civilize Ethiopia. Now we know, as all the world knows, that Africa has been partitioned and appropriated by the great powers of Europe. We know that unspeakable outrages have been committed in the name of civilization. There remains only this one isolated empire of Ethiopia and Italy is reaching out to it in pretext of her need for room, to rape the last remaining kingdom under native rule in African territory.

"These are some of the results of misinformed public sentiment. What is behind it When we look into the causes and history of Italy we find it is Premier Mussolini. To fulfill his promises to his people that he would make Italy again a great colonial empire, he has misled them into war.

Italians Restless

"The people of Italy, burdened with taxation to maintain a great military machine, are beginning to become restless, and in order to draw their attention away from their domestic problems, Mussolini launches this adventure in East Africa.

"Let us turn our attention to one of our national questions and we will see how mis-guided public sentiment can aggravate conditions at home. President Roosevelt took office at a time when the nation was headed rapidly for social disintegration. Banks were toppling here and there, and industries failing. Women and children were facing starvation Roosevelt put his mind to work and gave us the National Recovery Act Every one admits that under the NRA there has been a large measure of industrial recovery. It has been done without any violence to the institution or the political or economic structure of the country.

"Some of Roosevelt's program for the control of industry and agriculture and industry did not jibe with our ancient constitution and some of the far-visioned legislation that had been worked out by him was not in accord with the letter of the law, so some of those opposing him and his program rushed to the U. S. Supreme Court. They are grossly concerned about the suggestion that the Constitution be amended, so as to give legal status to certain recovery acts. 'We must not tamper with the Constitution,' they say 'It is revolutionary and socialistic to do so.'

Amendments Not Unholy

"But we can amend the constitution. The constitution was made by the people. It has been amended 21 times, and every time it has been amended for the general welfare of the people. Tne Constitution itself provides for that. But there are people who would misguide public sentiment about this.

"A question closer to home, one that has greatly agitated our state in recent weeks, is that of college facilities for the youth of the state. A young woman of the race applied to the University of Virginia for admission to the graduate school of the university. She wanted to complete her education but the state university slammed its doors in the face of this young woman.

Reasonable Effort

"The only reason she applied there was because she could not complete her education in any tax-supported college for her race in Virginia. Immediately there was launched a campaign to mis-inform public sentiment.

"First was raised the question of amalgamation. I was delighted during a conference on the matter to hear one of our own educators say that the proposal to have the state finance scholarships for students in other white universities out of the state left the impression that there was a fear that amalgamation would be easier in Virginia than elsewhere.

"Amalgamation has done its worst where ignorance thrived. The evidences of that are apparent to every one who is not so blind that he cannot see. The best way to stop amalgamation is to spread intelligence.

Tax Mis-Information

"Another objector raised the question of the segregation of taxes. Let the school taxes paid by whites be spent for white schools and those paid by Negroes be spent for our schools it was urged. That has reference no doubt to direct taxes, but does not take into consideration the sound priniiple that in the ultimate nearly all taxes are derived from rent, profits and the wages of labor.

"So when we come to a discussion of the segregation of taxes, there is no sound basis for it. If such a thing were possible, if it were possible to separate the taxes paid by Negroes and whites in some sections, it would be found probably that the Negro is not only paying for his own education, but contributing to the other race's education too.

Need of Clear Thinking

"These questions upon which you have to think today and tomorrow, you who are going out of school this year and next; these questions are a challenge to honesty and clear thinking, and you have your contribution to make.

"In this university—here at Union—you are free to think and you are taught to think straight. Carry this privilege and this teaching with you to the outer world, drawing upon the spiirtual forces within you for strength while you endeavor to form intelligent judgments and to reach sound decisions."

An academic procession of faculty, trustees, and the speaker was a feature of the occasion. Music was furnished by the University Sextette under the direction of Mrs. Aldena W. Davis.

Alabama Police Move To Spike Negro Boycott

10-19-35

BIRMINGHAM, ALA., Oct. 19.—(AP)—Moving to check a widespread boycott by negroes of Italian-owned stores in Jefferson County, police announced today six alleged leaders had been taken into custody and warned against fomenting organized trade bans.

Sheriff Fred McDuff and his deputies were pushing an investigation of reports that communist agitators were organizing the negroes in a sympathetic strike against Italian merchants, because of hostilities in Ethiopia.

Communist activity apparently has been increasing recently after weeks of inactive or passive operation in this district, once the hotbed of radical operations in the South.

The boycott came to light today as a group of Italian merchants went before Solicitor George Lewis Bailes to lodge protests, and the solicitor immediately called attention to the anti-boycott statute.

This law provides penalties of fines from $100 to $1,000 with imprisonment at hard labor up to six months. A second conviction makes a three to six month jail sentence mandatory.

"Although our fathers and mothers came from Italy, we're Americans," said a spokesman for the group, who wore an American Legion button in his coat lapel. "We'd be interested in this war only if America entered it."

Negro teachers in negro schools in Bessemer were charged by Italian merchants there with fomenting the boycott. The report said that the teachers urged the pupils not to patronize Italian stores and in some cases threatened punishment if the children traded with Italians.

Superintendent J. E. Bryan and Acting Chief of Police A. J. McCabe in Bessemer, said they had received reports of the boycott. One Italian merchant near a negro school in Bessemer said none of the negro pupils would trade with him.

There has been no movement to enlist negro sympathizers of Ethiopia for service in the African Empire.

Brooklyn, N. Y. Eagle

OCT 7 1935

4 Hurt as Italian And Negro Women Clash in L. I. City

Negro and Italian women living in a two-family house at 34-45 11th street, Long Island City, today engaged in a fist fight and general melee in the lower hallway of the premises. When the Astoria police arrived one white woman was removed to St. John's Hospital, Long Island City, suffering from a stab wound in the chest, and three other women were treated for minor cuts and bruises.

The woman in the hospital is Miss Jennie Platia, 18. Her condition, according to police, is serious. The others injured were Miss Julia Fegans, 20, a Negro; her sister-in-law, Mrs. Ella Fegans, 22, a Negro, and Mrs. Celia Simon, 24, white.

Miss Fegans was arrested on a charge of felonious assault.

NEW YORK TIMES

OCT 7 1935

DENIES ADVISING NEGROES.

Mitchell, of House, Says He Leaves Their Course Open on Ethiopia.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 6 (AP).—Representative Mitchell, Illinois, Democrat and the only Negro member of Congress, said tonight that he had not advised members of his race regarding their actions in the Italo-Ethiopian situation.

He was described in press reports last night as advising Negroes not to demonstrate against Italians in this country. He declared tonight that while he saw "the attitude of Italy as being a well-planned and deliberate move to exploit what she regards as a weaker nation," he refrained from recommending any course of action to members of his race in this country.

Negroes, he added, should not be held responsible when they "are attacked as they were in recent cases." He referred to incidents in several cities where Negoes and Italians had become involved in demonstrations.

GREENWOOD, MISS.

COMMONWEALTH

OCT 26 1935

UNDESERVED BOYCOTT

The boycott by negroes of stores in Birmingham, owned by ~~Italians,~~ has taken on serious aspects. The boycott is said to be in sympathy with the Ethiopian defense against Mussolini's invasion.

This is unjust and should be ended as soon as possible. America has many good citizens of Italians parentage—many who emigrated to America from Italy. Not all of them sympathize with Mussolini in his method of gaining additional lands.

Italians and all others who came here from foreign countries to take their part in America's continued development are deserving of the respects and the aid of all who want to see America advance.

If America is to remain neutral there must be neutrality in business among ourselves as well as abroad.

Birmingham, Ala. News

October 20, 1935

A Task For Birmingham's Responsible Negro Leadership

A boycott is an ugly instrument of persecution and oppression. As such, boycotting is prohibited by law and condemned by enlightened public opinion. It is not tolerated by society, nor should it be tolerated, much less condoned or practiced, by any group or class.

An ugly thing in any case, a boycott is particularly vicious and unfair when it is employed against innocent persons, as in the case of the reported boycotting of Italian merchants in Birmingham and Jefferson County by Negroes in sympathy with Ethiopia. The Italo-Ethiopian conflict is taking place in Africa. The Italian merchants of Birmingham and Jefferson County are far remote from and in no way related to the cause of Negro feeling against Italy as a nation. In point of fact, these merchants of Italian descent are American citizens. They have no more connection with Italy's invasion of Ethiopia than the Negro boycotters themselves have. They should not be made to suffer in any way for something with which they have nothing to do and over which they have no control.

Reports have reached the authorities of the law that Communists are attempting to foment a boycotting movement. It is not hard to believe that Communists would do this, not only out of their enmity toward Fascism, but also because they are eager to stir up strife in this locality, particularly among the more ignorant Negroes whom they can victimize. There have been reports also that Negro school teachers—of all persons—have told their pupils not to trade with Italian merchants. That is hard to believe, but if it is true, the school authorities should take a hand in the matter.

However inspired, this boycott must be stopped. The law imposes severe penalties on persons convicted of organizing boycotts. The law, however, cannot do its part in putting down this evil without the full cooperation of the responsible Negro leadership of the community. Negro leaders can do more than any others to remedy the situation. It is a task to which they should set their hands promptly and wholeheartedly.

NASHVILLE, TENN.

~~EVENING~~ TENNESSEAN

OCT 7 1935

Not Our War.

Black men and white men are engaged in a war in Ethiopia which promises untold suffering and unhappiness to millions of innocent persons in the two belligerent countries and throughout the rest of the world.

It is natural that sympathies for one side or the other should be aroused and that individuals as far away as America should take sides.

It should be remembered, however, that this nation is not at war and that this is no place for sympathizers of either side to let their feelings overcome their reason and their loyalty to this country.

No one is wise enough to predict what the outcome of this war will be or where it will stop. Fears have been expressed that it will sweep far beyond the borders of Ethiopia and will engulf Europe in a conflict more horrible and more extensive than the World War was. Warnings have been given by outstanding leaders in various parts of Africa that it would lead to a general uprising of natives against the white people of Africa.

Tht Italo-Ethiopian conflict is far from America. It is our desire and our duty as a nation to keep out of it. That duty is the duty of the people of America no less than the government.

The lessons of the World War are fresh in our minds. We have not forgotten the waste of men and labor and resources which we suffered in that experience, and we are bearing to this day the burden of that waste. We have learned that there can be no true victory in war. The victor and the vanquished alike must suffer.

We are unwilling to share in such waste again, for we know nothing can be gained for either side, and that no achievement is marked up even when the right side wins.

Neither are we willing to have a foreign war fought out by elements of our population here in our own country.

The Americans of Italian origin are no more to blame for this war than are any other American citizens. They might be expected to sympathize with their blood relatives abroad, but as long as they remain American citizens it is their duty to place above that sympathy their obligation to America.

The negroes of America might feel a bond between themselves and the helpless Ethiopians whose country Mussolini's troops have invaded. But they should remember their obligation to America comes first.

The Ethiopians are not close relatives of the American negro. Barring color, the American negro bears little resemblance to the dark-skinned Ethiopian. The American negroes have enjoyed seventy years of freedom in this country and within that short span they have developed outstanding racial leaders and have, with the cooperation of good white neighbors, established ever improving interracial relations. While they have been bettering their position, thousands of their color have been held in bondage in Ethiopia, where a man's importance is measured by the number of slaves he can take about with him wherever he goes.

Sentiment in America is overwhelmingly for Ethiopia in this crisis, because she was attacked by Italy without provocation and in violation of Italy's international obligations. But this is not America's war and it should not be fought out on American soil. There have been indications in New York and a few other large American centers that opposing sentiments might break into serious violence. Such actions would be wholly un-American. They would hinder our government in its determination to maintain our neutrality and they would retard the progress of interracial progress in this country.

Firm action should be taken wherever demonstrations occur and racial leaders should counsel their followers against any action that would damage relations between the white and negro Americans and embarrass our government in this crisis.

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Race Problem - 1935

Africa

Abyssinia

ABYSSINIA—ISOLATED



The Black Areas Show Italy and Her Italian Dependencies.

ETHIOPIA NOW SEEMS HEADED FOR DOOM

The League Remains Inactive as Italy Takes Up the White Man's Burden in Africa's Last Native-Ruled Land

By FREDERICK T. BIRCHALL.

Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LONDON, Feb. 16.—A glance atsessions of great European powers. the map tells the story of Abys- It should be said, parenthetically sinia, the last native country in allperhaps, that Liberia is sometimes Africa that retains its indepen-rated as a nominally independent dence. Here is a fertile territorycountry, but its native population cut off from the sea and entirelyhas nothing to do with its govern- surrounded by the expanding pos-ment, which is administered en-tirely by American immigrants.

The only railway from Abyssinia's capital leads to a French port, Jibuti. The main caravan trail outward ends at an Italian port, Massua. The country itself lies between two Italian colonies, Eritrea and Somaliland.

The Writing on the Wall.

The present trouble, originating in frontier clashes with Italy, may be adjusted in Geneva and temporarily blow over. But the writing on the wall plainly indicates the approaching fate of the historic Ethiopian people. It is only a question of time before they will be absorbed, like all the rest of the native African peoples, their territory divided and themselves put under the rule of white races further advanced in civilization and better equipped with the tools of war than they are.

It may be deplorable, but it is according to precedent in the rest of the world. It is advancement—the progress of dominant races. All Africa save this surviving independency has gone that way.

There are excuses. From the viewpoint of civilized Europe, Abyssinia is a barbarous country. Its nobles feast on raw beef, continually fight among themselves, and from time to time raid and enslave their humbler neighbors. It is the duty of civilization to put down the slave trade and also to curb the martial spirit of the wild horsemen who make trouble for their neighbors.

The Ethiopian Emperor, the "King of Kings" and lineal descendant, according to legend, of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, is too weak for either job. His wild tribes will not let him curb them. Moreover, it is uncomfortable to have such unruly neighbors.

Neighbors Are Disturbed.

Disturbances among tribes of Abyssinia tend to slip over the border and stir up trouble in Anglo-Egyptian Sudan to the westward; in Italian Eritrea, in the smaller and more compact French Somaliland, in British Somaliland to the north and Italian Somaliland to the east (all between Abyssinia and the sea) and in the British colonies of Uganda and Kenya to the south.

Such independence is thoroughly disliked in all those places. They wish it were ended.

It is true the present Italian colonies are in themselves unattractive, Italian Eritrea especially—a mere strip of Red Sea sand without value except, perhaps, strategically. And Abyssinia is mostly fertile upland, habitable by Southern Europeans, capable of growing good cotton and suspected of concealing valuable minerals.

It is true also that in Abyssinia the government functions only spasmodically. Life is cheap and cruelty common. It is obviously another case for taking up the white man's burden. But as The New Statesman points out this week, it should be a burden for all white men; in fact, it is what the League of Nations was supposed to be founded to undertake.

So far the League in this instance has taken what seems to be somewhat urgent business with extreme calm. When the first clashes between Ethiopians and Italians occurred, it advised both sides to talk it over, meantime itself postponing consideration of the whole matter. While the talks are proceeding further clashes have occurred, but the League is now in a state of suspended animation between sessions.

Italian Demands Nebulous.

But two divisions of Italian troops have been mobilized for African service. Italian demands of a more or less nebulous character, but understood to include an apology and indemnity—which last Abyssinia is probably too poor to pay—are being pressed in Addis Ababa. The distraught Emperor can only plead that his people have attacked nobody and that he has withdrawn from the disputed area such soldiers as were there, but that he will not be either coerced or intimidated.

That is the usual way. A clash occurs and the blame for it is disputed. Indemnity is demanded, which the weaker country is too poor to pay. It must, therefore, atone in territorial concessions, which ultimately mean the surrender of territory. The acquisition of new territory by one powerful neighbor involves demands for "compensations" by other powerful neighbors, so partitions are initiated with the inevitable ending.

In Abyssinia's case the Italians, French and British have alike offered themselves for the task of carrying this particular white man's burden. The Italians elected themselves to it long ago in the days of Crispi, the most strenuous of Premier Mussolini's predecessors, but the effort ended lamentably at Adowa just as a similar British effort in South Africa collapsed temporarily at Majuba Hill.

However, just as the British defeat was wiped out by the Boer War, so Adowa may inspire a new task for General Emilio de Bono, Italian High Commissioner for Africa, whose power and resources far exceed any Crispi could command.

French Support.

Apart from the undesirability of undertaking an African adventure at a time when European conditions seem to demand that attention should be concentrated nearer home, the present moment seems opportune for Premier Mussolini to make his Eritrean and Somilaland colonies really worth something more than strips of sunbaked sands. The good relations established with France at the recent Rome conference insure him against complications in that quarter.

There is some doubt whether the world knows all that Foreign Minister Pierre Laval of France conceded at Rome in return for Italian friendship in Europe. The favors granted in Tunis were trifling. The agreement with Austria was two-sided and had already been foreshadowed.

It is quite possible that the share in the French railway leading out of the Ethiopian capital and the confirmation of Italian claims to Eritrea carried more than ostensibly appeared in the Rome communiqué. If there was indicated a French attitude of benevolence to future Italian expansion at Abyssinia's expense it would not be at all surprising. It might even explain calmness of Geneva in this rather sensational development.

Europe Strangely Indifferent.

However, there is a strange indifference in the Europeans' attitude as a whole toward what seems to be impending in Abyssinia. It was to counteract the aggression of powerful nations against weak peoples that the League of Nations owes its existence. All that was supposed to belong to the wicked past, although Japan's actions in China provided a notable exception.

In its earlier days the League acted promptly to protect Greece at Corfu. Abyssinia enjoys the same League membership that Greece did, but so also does China. So far enough to silence the friends of the League has not betrayed ever peace while affording to Fascist gas, airplanes, tanks and bombs as much interest in the case of Abyssinia as it did in that of China adventure which serves so well to poison but this may be because the situation with a false clothe dictatorship and the last native African independency will cease to exist.

Unless the League of Nations does something to separate itself and when it does it may be speedily too late for action. At present the belligerent elements in the territory largely because of Abyssinia's isolation and inarticulation, the entire dispute is veiled in a fog dense

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Disturbances among tribes of Abyssinia tend to slip over the border and stir up trouble in Anglo-Egyptian Sudan to the westward; in Italian Eritrea, in the smaller and more compact French Somaliland, in British Somaliland to the north and Italian Somaliland to the east (all between Abyssinia and the sea) and in the British colonies of Uganda and Kenya to the south. Such independence is thoroughly disliked in all those places. They wish it were ended.

It is true the present Italian colonies are in themselves unattractive, Italian Eritrea especially—a mere strip of Red Sea sand without value except, perhaps, strategically. And Abyssinia is mostly fertile upland, habitable by Southern Europeans, capable of growing good cotton and suspected of concealing valuable minerals.

It is true also that in Abyssinia the government functions only spasmodically. Life is cheap and cruelty common. It is obviously another case for taking up the white man's burden. But as The New Statesman points out this week, it should be a burden for all white men; in fact, it is what the League of Nations was supposed to be founded to undertake.

So far the League in this instance has taken what seems to be somewhat urgent business with extreme calm. When the first clashes between Ethiopians and Italians occurred, it advised both sides to talk it over, meantime itself postponing consideration of the whole matter. While the talks are proceeding further clashes have occurred, but the League is now in a state of suspended animation between sessions.

Italian Demands Nebulous.

But two divisions of Italian troops have been mobilized for African service. Italian demands of a more or less nebulous character, but understood to include an apology and indemnity—which last Abyssinia is probably too poor to pay—are being pressed in Addis Ababa. The distraught Emperor can only plead that his people have attacked nobody and that he has withdrawn from the disputed area such soldiers as were there, but that he will not be either coerced or intimidated.

That is the usual way. A clash occurs and the blame for it is disputed. Indemnity is demanded, which the weaker country is too poor to pay. It must, therefore, atone in territorial concessions, which ultimately mean the surrender of territory. The acquisition of new territory by one powerful neighbor involves demands for "compensations" by other powerful neighbors, so partitions are initiated with the inevitable ending.

In Abyssinia's case the Italians, French and British have alike offered themselves for the task of carrying this particular white man's burden. The Italians elected themselves to it long ago in the days of Crispi, the most strenuous of Premier Mussolini's predecessors, but the effort ended lamentably at Adowa just as a similar British effort in South Africa collapsed temporarily at Majuba Hill.

However, just as the British defeat was wiped out by the Boer War, so Adowa may inspire a new task for General Emilio de Bono, Italian High Commissioner for Africa, whose power and resources far exceed any Crispi could command.

French Support.

Apart from the undesirability of undertaking an African adventure at a time when European conditions seem to demand that attention should be concentrated nearer home, the present moment seems opportune for Premier Mussolini to make his Eritrean and Somilaland colonies really worth something more than strips of sunbaked sands. The good relations established with France at the recent Rome conference insure him against complications in that quarter.

There is some doubt whether the world knows all that Foreign Minister Pierre Laval of France conceded at Rome in return for Italian friendship in Europe. The favors granted in Tunis were trifling. The agreement with Austria was two-sided and had already been foreshadowed.

It is quite possible that the share in the French railway leading out of the Ethiopian capital and the confirmation of Italian claims to Eritrea carried more than ostensibly appeared in the Rome communiqué. If there was indicated a French attitude of benevolence to future Italian expansion at Abyssinia's expense it would not be at all surprising. It might even explain calmness of Geneva in this rather sensational development.

Europe Strangely Indifferent.

However, there is a strange indifference in the Europeans' attitude as a whole toward what seems to be impending in Abyssinia. It was to counteract the aggression of powerful nations against weak peoples that the League of Nations owes its existence. All that was supposed to belong to the wicked past, although Japan's actions in China provided a notable exception. In its earlier days the League acted promptly to protect Greece at Corfu. Abyssinia enjoys the same League membership that Greece did, but so also does China. So far enough to silence the friends of a larger conflict in which poison the League has not betrayed ever peace while affording to Fascist gas, airplanes, tanks and bombs as much interest in the case of Abyssinia as it did in that of China adventure which serves so well to again demonstrate their superyssinia as it did in that of China adventure which serves so well to iority over undisciplined bravery but this may be because the situation has not yet developed as sensational glamour. clothe dictatorship with a false the last native African independency will cease to exist.

Unless the League of Nations acts promptly and will again tionally.

If and when it does it may be too late for action. At present speedily does something to separate the belligerent elements in the territory over which is largely because of Abyssinia's isolation and inarticulation, the entire dispute is veiled in a fog dense

Rather Old-Fashioned

Any effort made to prevent hostilities between Italy and Abyssinia is worth while and perhaps Great Britain's diplomatic intervention by way of calling Italy's attention to an old treaty to which she is signatory may have the effect of preventing actual conflict. The record of treaty violations within recent years, however, does not inspire any great hope that such old-fashioned methods will prevail.

Italy, in concert with Great Britain, signed a treaty agreeing to assist each other in maintaining the status quo in Abyssinia. The status was hence of peace following many years of internal and border conflict.

In the preamble to the treaty it was agreed by the signatories that it was to their common interest "to maintain intact the integrity of Ethiopia." Article 1 of the treaty provides for co-operation in maintaining "the political and territorial status quo in Ethiopia." If the status is disturbed, the powers, under authority of the treaty, are to act in concert to safeguard their special interests.

Strict interpretation of the treaty would prevent Italy from acting singly in any punitive movement predicated on alleged Abyssinian assaults along the Somaliland boundary. Such assaults, if they have been made as Italy claims, would constitute disturbances of the status quo. Under treaty requirements Italy should have first complained to her co-signatories and then requested that they act with her in restoring peace along the boundaries, a task to which she alone, apparently, has set herself.

That either Great Britain or France will go further than calling Italy's attention to existence of the treaty is doubtful. There is a parallel between the Abyssinian and the Pacific Nine-Power Treaty which was supposed to preserve the territorial integrity of China.

France, Britain and Italy are signatories to the Pacific pact. None made even a gesture of serious intervention when Japan, another Pacific signatory, openly and violently disregarded the treaty in effecting military penetration of Manchuria.

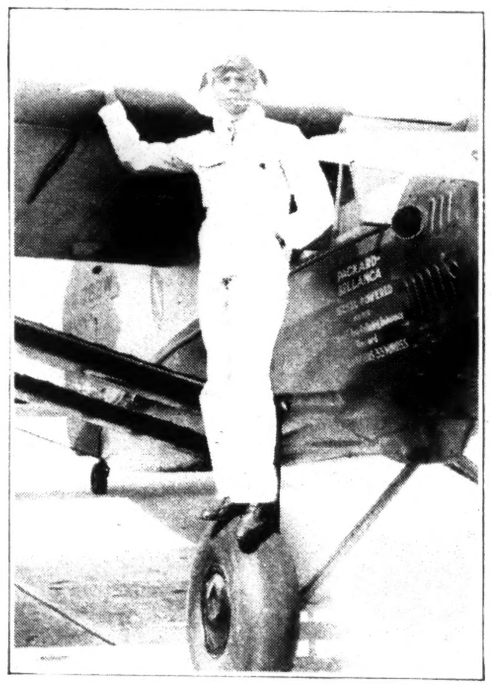
It was said at the time of the Manchurian invasion that the indifference of the powers to the sacredness of the Nine-Power Pact would establish precedent for other nations having designs of imperial advancement.

Neither Britain nor France, in view of their attitude toward violation of the Pacific Pact, are in position to seriously challenge any violation by Italy of the Abyssinian Pact. The hands of all are unclean.

ITALY-ABYSSINIA

Being Smart

Instead of sailing for New York last week, comfortably full of U. S. tourists, Italy's gaudy, ornate, popular *Vulcania* cleared from Naples pack-jammed with excited Italian troops. They wore pith helmets, brandished rifles tipped with the Italian tricolor and roared alternately



Rudy Arnold

"HARLEM'S BLACK EAGLE"

"Abyssinia hath nothing to fear!"

"Live The Duce!" and "Live The King!" In each soldier's breast pocket was a handy picture of Il Duce inspiringly autographed:

Better live one day as Lions than 100 years as Lambs—Mussolini.

Thirty thousand gallons of airplane gasoline meanwhile arrived in Italian Somaliland, ready to power the bombers that Il Duce and Il Re may hurl against Abyssinia's Emperor Power of Trinity, who is the Conquering Lion of Judah and the Elect of God to over 5,000,000 Negroids.

Smart as he looks, the knife-nosed Emperor, having received Il Duce's ultimatum demanding salutes, indemnities and establishment of a neutral zone, sent down to the frontier of Italian Somaliland an Abyssinian mission with a Swedish and a Belgian military observer "to ensure fairness in establishing the neutral zone," ignored Il Duce's demands for salutes, indemnities

This produced in Rome profound explosions of Fascist wrath. At the Dictator's press bureau, run by his affable son-in-law Count Gelasio Ciano, the official spokesman said furiously of Abyssinia's Emperor "He was 'being smart!' Our Minister to Abyssinia has informed the Abyssinian Government that their unilateral effort will not stand!"

To relieve young Count Ciano's *ufficio stampa* (Press Bureau) of any difficulty in explaining Italy's future moves in Abyssinia Dictator Mussolini as War Minister abruptly took over its functions. No more mimeographed handouts will be issued, he decreed. Correspondents will get their news orally at the War Office, face drastic prosecution if their verbal informant sees fit to accuse them of misquotation. Press feats of the week included high praise in every Italian paper for a mother who, asked why she was sobbing on the dock as her soldier son sailed, explained through her tears: "I am not sorry that my son is going to fight for Italy. If I had two sons, I should send them both!" (*sobs*).

Two days after the *Vulcania* embarked, the *Biancamano* set sail from Sicily, bound for Somaliland, with 100 officers, 2,600 soldiers and quantities of supplies including motor trucks, artillery and motorized artillery.

. . .

Possibly to fight for Abyssinia, one U. S. Negro sailed on the *Europa* last week. He was "Harlem's Black Eagle," the "Negro Lindbergh," famed Col. Hubert Fauntleroy Julian who insists that the Emperor of Abyssinia made him a Colonel nearly five years ago in Addis Ababa (TIME, Nov. 3, 1930).

"More than 75 Negro doctors and engineers, trained in American colleges, have settled in Abyssinia since I cut the path," said Col. Julian. "To the news of Italy's aggression my instinctive reaction was at once to take off for Abyssinia in my black Bellanca plane (see cut). However, I restrained my ardor whilst assembling some combat and bombing equipment which I will take with me by ship to Aden, thence flying the planes to Addis Ababa."

North German Lloyd officials knew of no combat equipment or battle planes among Col. Julian's luggage as the *Europa* sailed. "The only disparity between the combatants is in the air," was the Black Eagle's parting declaration. "Once that is remedied, Abyssinia hath nothing to fear!"

J. W. Ford Outlines Ways to Help Abyssinians

Africans Need Arms and Equipment More Than Troops, He Says

100 ITALIAN SOLDIERS DESERT AT BORDERS

Mass Meetings Urged All Over U.S.

NEW YORK.—The idea of Americans volunteering as soldiers to help the Abyssinian people in their struggle with Italy is a noble sentiment but an impractical one, asserted James W. Ford, Communist candidate for vice-president in 1932, in an address at a mass protest meeting at the Abyssinian Baptist Church, Thursday.

What the Abyssinian people really need today as a practical measure in fighting against the invasion of their country are machine guns, airplanes, tanks, and gas, the speaker said. "Every penny we can raise," he continued should be utilized towards helping the Ethiopians to equip themselves."

Mass Action Urged

"To send fifty-thousand soldiers to Abyssinia now would throw upon the people of that country just so many more mouths to feed," asserted the speaker, "and they need every bit of food for themselves.

"What we can do is to rally the American masses against Mussolini's murderous war. We can build up bigger and better mass protest meetings throughout the country. We can march fifty-thousand citizens of Harlem and their sympathizers through the streets. Such a demonstration would certainly re-echo in the ears of Mussolini in Rome.

"We can further flood the Italian consulates all over this country with telegrams voicing our protests and demanding the withdrawal of Italian troops from Ethiopia. We can arouse the twenty millions of men of African descent in the western world, together with sympathizers of Abyssinian independence, against Italy's aggressions."

Tells of Desertions

like to correspond with a lovely respectable, home-loving young man, whose mind is not of the night life. One between the ages of 29 and 35 years, weighing around 160 pounds, neatly built 5 feet 7 inches tall, dark brownskin or medium.

My age is 26. I weigh 150 pounds, am 5 feet 3 inches tall and am dark brownskin.

of Italian sailors to load munitions and arms, a refusal to handle war transports to Abysinia. It also called upon the workers, soldiers, and sailors to join in a struggle against war and if they are sent to Abyssinia, to fraternize with the Ethiopian troops and people and not to fight against them.

It also demanded the evacuation of Libya, Eritera, and Somaliland, which are under Italy

Race Problem—1935

Abyssinia

Africa

THE WORLD'S WINDOW

By PIERRE VAN PAASSEN.

The Abyssinian Problem.

Here in Africa every military man and every civil administrator is asking you what about Abyssinia. Is it going to be war with Italy or what? And my answer is: Ultimately it will be war. To anyone who has followed the evolution of Italo-Abyssinian relations for the last 50 years, a clash between the two states seems inevitable in the end. Italy has attacked Abyssinia several times before and the present Italian colonies of Somaliland and Erythrea are nothing else but land nibbled away from the Ethiopian empire, the official name of Abyssinia.

There was, for instance, the battle of Adowa, in 1895, when an Italian army, under a marshal, whose name escapes me for the minute, I think it was Batieri, suffered a terrible defeat at the hands of the Emperor Menelik. Fifteen thousand Italians were left on the field and Menelik, had he followed up his advantage, would have driven the Italians into the Indian ocean, but instead went home to Addis Abeba to celebrate the victory. The curious part about the recent border incidents is that the places where they took place lie a full 100 kilometers inside Abyssinian territory, which shows, if anything, that Abyssinia is already invaded.

* * * *

The Rome Agreement.

The agreement between Singor Mussolini and M. Pierre Laval, signed in Rome on January 3, stipulates that Italy is to have 20 per cent of the shares in the joint stock of the only Abyssinian railway, which runs from the capital, Addis Abeba, to Djibouti, in French Somaliland. Now France may hand over these shares and Mussolini may think that therewith he gets a footing in Abyssinia, but the negus, or emperor, of Abyssinia, has notified the League of Nations that he cannot tolerate Italian operation of the railway.

This is a perfectly legitimate declaration, because Abyssinia is a sovereign state and a member of the League in the bargain. Of course that refusal to accord Italy a share in the operation of the railway is taken as an affront in Rome and it should be observed in this connection that the border incidents, of which there have been several bloody ones, occurred immediately after that refusal. The policy of past Italian governments was to turn Abyssinia into an Italian protectorate. Under the Crispi administration Italy actually got that far, but since that time the whole arrangement has lapsed. Whether Italy will now succeed in subjugating Ethiopia or bending the negus to its will, remains to be seen.

* * * *

Dangerous Tension.

Italy has been shipping troops and equipment to Erythrea since last September. Italy therefore expected something to happen long ago. Those border incidents did not come as a surprise. Personally, I went to Africa in the knowledge that Signor Mussolini would probably force the issue before spring. The border incidents are to furnish the excuse for an ultimatum and perhaps for an attack. It was not very difficult to provoke them. On the other hand Abyssinia is also arming feverishly. She has just imported 100 assault cars from Sweden, according to information I gathered from British officers on the Soudan frontier. Two million men are under arms in Abyssinia and nearly a million women. At that they may not prove a match for the perfectly equipped Italian expeditionary force which is already half in the docks of Erythrea and half on the way. I have a letter in my pocket from the emperor of Ethiopia and if it comes to hostilities I intend to take service with him for a while, leaving journalism alone until another day, if any.

(Copyright, 1935, for The Constitution.)

Why Ethiopia Must Win

Invasion of Africa with thousands of fighting men may be just a military campaign to the Italians, but Ethiopians look forward to another life and death struggle for their existence.

Ethiopia's Queen of Sheba visited Solomon. The Ethiopians were civilized and Christian, while the English still drank the blood of wild animals and worshipped heathen gods. Ethiopia in the last thousand years has saved its independence only because it has stood in the mountains, sword in hand, to defend itself against French, British, and Italians.

Emperor Haile Selassie, answering Italy's seizure of Ethiopian border territory and attacks upon native soldiers, declares he will not attack, but if attacked, his country will defend itself to the last.

The Emperor knows that if Italy wins this war, there will follow murder, pillage, rape, and enslavement of the Ethiopian people for the next two hundred years.

They will be forced to work seven days a week from dawn to sunset, or they will be whipped, hands and feet cut off, eyes put out.

Under the screen of developing a backward country, choicest oil, mineral and pasture lands will be taken from natives and given to Italians.

Behind the public announcement of efforts to suppress the slave trade, a new kind of forced labor will be set up rivalling the atrocious Belgian system in the Congo or the present inhuman British system in South Africa.

For dear old Rome, Italy, the Pope and Protestant Christianity Ethiopians will be raped, worked to death, robbed, cheated, beaten, mutilated until their number, 12,000,000, will shrink to 6,000,000, and then to 5,000,000. And then to God knows how low.

Back into Italy will flow a hoard of yellow gold, oil, minerals and wool—wealth wrung from Ethiopian sacrifice of life, liberty and fatherland.

No body knows this better than the Ethiopians themselves. Better for them to fight to the last man than to suffer such a fate. Ethiopia must win or die.

ABYSSINIA GOES BEFORE LEAGUE

Appeal Is Lodged In Spite Of Effort To Prevent Italian Defiance

(Copyright, 1935, By United Press)

GENEVA, March 19.—Abyssinia today appealed to the League of Nations to intervene in its frontier dispute with Italy.

The appeal necessitates an extraordinary meeting of the league council which could also consider the German rearmament crisis if necessary.

Every effort had been made to keep the dispute out of the league's jurisdiction.

It was feared that Italy would defy any league action which it did not favor, just as it is feared today that if the German crisis reaches the league Germany will defy it.

Abyssinia's appeal was made despite efforts by the league and individual nations to effect direct settlement by friendly negotiation.

The appeal was made under Article XV of the league covenant providing for reference by any member of a dispute "likely to lead to a rupture."

Under the article, the council must be called in emergency session. Provision is made for eventual reference to a meeting of the assembly if the council fails to succeed in its work.

Abyssinia Files Appeal to League

GENEVA, March 17.— (UP) — Abyssinia today presented a note to the League of Nations reportedly asking the League council to intervene in the Italian-Abyssinian dispute growing out of border clashes in northeast Africa.

The Abyssinian note is reported to say that direct negotiations with Italy have failed and therefore asks the council to act on Addis Ababa's appeal filed last January. The council suspended action then, pending outcome of the direct negotiations.

BALTIMORE, MD.
EVENING SUN
MAR 7 1935

Abyssinia's Mixture

To the Editor of The Evening Sun—Sir: In view of the proposal to recruit Negro regiments in the United States to aid Abyssinia in the event of a war between that country and Italy, there seems to be a misunderstanding as to the racial status of the Abyssinians.

The real Abyssinians, who are the dominant element of the country, belong to the Hamitic branch of the Caucasian race, like the Egyptians and the Berbers of Northwestern Africa. They are strongly semiticized, though, due to successive invasions by the Arabs. While the Abyssinians would no doubt welcome the assistance of American Negroes, it would probably remind them of the time when a Haitian—Benito Sylvain—traveled halfway around the world to proffer to Emperor Menelik the honorary presidency of a society which was being formed for the general welfare of the Negro race. Menelik's reply was characteristic of him:

"Yours is a most admirable idea, my young friend. There is no doubt that the Negro should be uplifted, and in the task you have set yourself I wish you every success. But in inviting me to head the movement you are knocking at the wrong door, so to speak. For I am not a Negro at all. I am a Caucasian."

Baltimore, Feb. 26. J. Thornton Starr.

Editor's Note—The "Statesman's Year-Book" states: "No reliable figures of population exist, but recent estimates indicate a figure of about 5,500,000. The Abyssinians, properly so called, number rather less than 3,000.000. . . . They are Christians, and are of Hamitic origin, semiticized by waves of Semitic invasion from Arabia and adulterated by intermarriage with Negro and other conquered races."

Italian Control Of Ethiopia Is Urged By Rome Press

ROME, May 15.—(AP)—Italian newspapers openly demanded today imposition of a new [illegible] on Ethiopia which was taken by diplomatic circles to mean civil or military control by Italy.

The authoritative Giornale d'Italia which most often is chosen to echo Government plans, said Ethiopia's incapacity to comprehend and assimilate the elementary values of "civilization" makes it necessary that there be given Ethiopian territory an organization which will deprive it of the possibility of menacing any more neighboring colonies, above all Italian interests which have been attacked."

These blasts followed the bold declaration by Benito Mussolini that other nations must keep their hands off the Italo-Ethiopian dispute.

(Well-informed London quarters said Great Britain, despite [illegible]

LONDON, May 15.—(AP)—Great Britain will make no move to close the Suez Canal and British ports to Italian warships and transports without first consulting the League of Nations and the United States, a high authority said tonight.

Agitation for such a single-handed action by Britain is increasing among liberal and labor political circles as a result of Benito Mussolini's inference he will ignore a tri-partite treaty by which he is pledged to consult England and France in regard to Ethiopian disputes.

England, it was said, is determined to continue her efforts to avoid a North African war despite Mussolini's warning to other powers yesterday to keep their hands off the quarrel.

Replying to Geoffrey Mander, a liberal, in Parliament today, Sir John Simon, foreign secretary, denied any representations had been made to Italy with reference to obligations the British would be under regarding use of the Suez Canal and English ports in the event of African hostilities

ABYSSINIA APPEALS TO THE LEAGUE

Breakdown Alleged in Negotiations with Italy

A telegram from the Abyssinian Government requests the League to deal as soon as possible with its appeal under article 11 owing to the breakdown of negotiations with the Italian Government.

This will probably necessitate a meeting of the Council earlier than in May, when the next meeting is due.

It must not be forgotten that the Italian Government has been most reluctant to allow this question to come before the League, contending that national honour was involved. It was only owing to the mediation of M. Laval and Mr. Anthony Eden that a provisional agreement as to procedure was reached last January.—Reuter.

THE NOTE

(From our Geneva Correspondent.)

The Note in which Abyssinia has asked the League to intervene in the dispute with Italy was published here on Tuesday. It disclosed that Abyssinia appeals to the League under articles 10 and 15 of the Covenant.

As the Abyssinian Government has not asked that the matter should be treated as urgent, it is not yet known whether a special session of the Council will be called to consider it. It is in any case the duty of the Secretary General to make all necessary arrangements for a full investigation and consideration of the dispute under paragraph 1 of article 15. That article further says that the parties to the dispute are to communicate to the Secretary General as promptly as possible statements of their case.

The Abyssinian Foreign Minister had informed the Secretary General in a telegram dated last Saturday that his Government intended very shortly to submit

> a formal request for examination by the Council of the Italo-Ethiopian dispute on the grounds of Italian mobilisation, dispatch of troops and armaments, and the impossibility of obtaining a reply from the Italian Government to our repeated requests for arbitration upon the dispute.

The formal appeal is made in a letter from the Abyssinian Minister in Paris to the Secretary General dated Sunday last. The letter says that there now exists between Abyssinia and the Italian Government a dispute likely to lead to a rupture. The Abyssinian Government had set out the facts in a memorandum submitted to the League in January, and had consented to the postponement of the consideration of the dispute by the Council on the promise that an amicable settlement would be arrived at. An agreement was concluded to the effect that the dispute should be settled by negotiation or arbitration in accordance with the spirit of the treaty of amity between Italy and Abyssinia of August 2, 1928, and with article 5 of that treaty.

The letter adds that the Abyssinian Government had repeatedly appealed to article 5 of the treaty of 1928 and asked the Italian Government to put it into effect. The Abyssinian Government had also formally declared, and repeated that declaration, that it would accept the arbitral award whatever it might be. The Italian Government, the letter says, had not consented to enter into any real negotiations.

The Abyssinian Government then had recourse to the good offices of a third Power. It regretted to say that the Italian Government had declined them. The Abyssinian Government vainly demanded arbitration, and the Italian Government replied by mobilising one contingent and dispatching troops and war material.

The letter then says:

The independence of Ethiopia, a member of the League of Nations, is in peril. By article 10 of the Covenant the members of the League undertake to respect and preserve against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League. The Ethiopian Government appeals to that undertaking.

The letter concludes:

The Ethiopian Government repeats the declaration that it has already made. It expresses its firm resolution to maintain and develop relations of loyal and confident friendship with Italy as with all the neighbouring Powers. Trusting in the justice of its cause, it demands full investigation and consideration as provided in article 15, pending the arbitration contemplated by the Treaty of 1928, and the Geneva agreement of January 19, 1935. It solemnly undertakes to accept any arbitral award immediately and unreservedly, and to act in accordance with the counsels and decisions of the League of Nations.

ITALY REPORTS A NEW INCIDENT

A new frontier incident between Italy and Abyssinia involving the theft of 100 camels is reported in a telegram to Rome from Mogadiscio, on the coast of Italian Somaliland. The Italian Government has already instructed its Legation in Addis Ababa to lodge a protest with the Abyssinian Government and to demand reparation.

The incident occurred at Agable, south of the Uebi Scebeli river, when, it is alleged, an armed party of Abyssinians made a raid into Italian territory and captured 100 camels. The raiders retreated back to Abyssinia when chased by Italian troops, who were careful not to cross the border. There were no casualties.

Fears are expressed that a further incident will follow.

[This incident took place some considerable distance from the earlier ones near Ual Ual.]

The Italian Government has sent a reply to Abyssinia stating that it is the wish of Italy to continue direct discussions with Abyssinia. These discussions have been in progress for some time at Addis Ababa, but yesterday Abyssinia sent a Note to the League of Nations asking that the dispute should be dealt with by the League Council.—Reuter.

Ethiopia Asks Aid of League

Actions Against War In Italy Rouse Anger In Fascist Press

GENEVA, May 13.—Italian fascism's war preparations "leave no room for doubt as to the hostile intentions of the Royal Italian government," said a sharply worded protest handed today to the League of Nations by Ethiopia.

League officials have recently received information indicating the increasing seriousness of the danger of war against Ethiopia.

The Ethiopian note today was the beginning of a campaign to expose to the entire world the imperialist war intentions of Mussolini.

Protection Asked

"The Ethiopian government earnestly appeals to the Council to see the territorial integrity and political independence of Ethiopia, a member of the League of Nations, is respected and preserved against aggression," said the note.

"Further mobilization of military forces was ordered by Italy," the note adds. "As a pretext for these measures in preparation for aggression, the Italian government announced that the emperor of Ethiopia had ordered a general mobilization of his army. The Ethiopian government protests against this report, which is absolutely false."

Italian Soldiers Resist

MILAN, Italy, May 13.—Demonstrations of workers and soldiers take place almost daily here against the Ethiopian war. The fascist press cannot escape taking notice of the rising anti-war sentiment and rages in helpless fury against "the intense anti-fascist propaganda carried on among the workers."

A group of recruits of the class of 1934 paraded across the Galleria, one of the busiest centers in the middle of Milan. On the initiative of a number of fascists, the recruits carried a poster with the inscription: "Long live the class of 1934 the class of iron!"

Workers Protest

The inscription aroused protests and warning shouts from a large number of men of the class of 1931, who had already had the opportunity of gaining some practical experience of military service. These soldiers shouted to the newly-called up recruits: "You will learn something about it when you get to Abyssinia!"

Fascists in the crowd adopted a provocative attitude and the two groups clashed. Carabinieri, the terrorist fascist troops, under the command of an officer of the fascist militia intervened, and arrested a number of soldiers.

Quick-Trigger Italy

Italy, fussing with Germany and Japan for sending arms to Ethiopia, at the same time herself concentrating troops on Ethiopia's border, represents a type of international highwayman which we thought the League of Nations was intended to curb.

Italy is buying arms from France and England. Italy has sent 200,000 troops and equipment thousands of miles into East Africa in preparation for an attack on Ethiopia as soon as the rainy season ends; but, as Italy views it, Ethiopians ought to lie still, do nothing and wait for the Italians to cross their border before they prepare themselves.

Italy is like some of our quick-trigger policemen who shoot citizens in the back and then set up the claim they were being attacked by these retreating citizens.

Race Problem - 1935

Africa

Abyssinia

British Expert Declares Mussolini Has Nothing To Gain by Conquest

Distinguished Tactician Analyzes Situation Thoroughly, Finds Italy Faces Long-Drawn, Expensive Task If She Sets Complete Vanquishment as Objective.

Major General Sir Charles Gwynn, British army, retired, is a distinguished military tactician whose regimental career was spent with the Royal Engineers. He was head of the British commission for delimitation of the Sudan-Abyssinia frontier, and is authoritatively familiar with conditions in the Ethiopian empire. From 1926-1931 he was commandant of the British Staff College. From 1923-24 he was A. D. C. to the king.

By MAJ.-GEN. SIR CHARLES GWYNN, K.C.B.; C.M.G.; D.S.O.

(Copyright, 1935, for North American Newspaper Alliance, Inc.)

LONDON, July 13.—(By Wireless.)—After the battle of Adowa had established Menelex's position as Negus Negusti (King of Kings), he set to work to extend the borders of his empire by conquest. As Great Britain synchronously was engaged in the reoccupation of the Sudan and in developing her East African protectorate, it became of urgent importance to arrive at a frontier agreement in what, at the time, was practically unexplored country.

It fell to my lot to ascertain the limits of Abyssinia's effective occupation and survey and suggest a frontier line in some detail, approximating to a vague line which the British minister to Addis Ababa had negotiated with Menelex. Off and on, over the first ten years of the century, I was engaged in the work, and, as Menelex was unable to produce or unwilling to pay for a qualified commissioner, I had to represent the interests of both countries in laying down a working frontier.

In the course of my duties, I twice spent several months in the capital, and came in contact there with Menelek, and with many other Abyssinians in traveling through the southern and western parts of the country. My experience, though somewhat ancient history, gives me an understanding of Abyssinian matters and mentality.

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Italy would seem to be faced with a dilemma. If she were content with limited acquisition of territory, she would obtain little of value and would find it more difficult than ever to obtain commercial concessions of any value, for the Abyssinian is a master in devising obstacles which would make concessions valueless. Can Italy, however, possibly afford a major undertaking, and would the Italian people stand the prolonged strain?

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How are the interests of other European powers involved? If Italy acquired a dominating position in Abyssinia, that of France would not be much affected. It might, in fact, improve the commercial value of Djibuti's port and railway, as being the easiest means of trade access. And France has abandoned her far-reaching ambitions which led to construction of the railway. Nor do I think British and Egyptian interests would suffer.

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The present trouble has arisen because, firstly, Abyssinia has proved herself a difficult neighbor and has been unwilling to arrange definite frontier, because she was anxious to retain a sort of exercise ground for raiding parties. Secondly, when an Abyssinian gives a concession under pressure, he is a master at raising obstacles in the way of its exploitation. In both of these respects, he has been creating difficulties with Italy particularly, as a result of the hostility aroused by Adowa.

Not Worth War.

Putting the ethical question aside, is Abyssinia worth the stupendous effort Italy apparently contemplates? Abyssinia is a fertile country with a good climate, but the presence of a considerable native population would make its colonization somewhat difficult. Moreover, the expense of placing its agricultural products on the world markets would be great. Does Abyssinia possess mineral wealth or oil fields? Possibly, but it is far from proved. Gold there is, but in spite of 35 years of fairly intensive search, I don't think that a single field has been located which would repay the expenses of development, although one platinum mine near the Sudan frontier is working.

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Race Problem - 1935

Africa

Abyssinia

British Expert Declares Mussolini Has Nothing To Gain by Conquest

Distinguished Tactician Analyzes Situation Thoroughly, Finds Italy Faces Long-Drawn, Expensive Task If She Sets Complete Vanquishment as Objective.

Major General Sir Charles Gwynn, British army, retired, is a distinguished military tactician whose regimental career was spent with the Royal Engineers. He was head of the British commission for delimitation of the Sudan-Abyssinia frontier, and is authoritatively familiar with conditions in the Ethiopian empire. From 1926-1931 he was commandant of the British Staff College. From 1923-24 he was A. D. C. to the king.

By MAJ.-GEN. SIR CHARLES GWYNN, K.C.B.; C.M.G.; D.S.O.

(Copyright, 1935, for North American Newspaper Alliance, Inc.)

LONDON, July 13.—(By Wireless.)—After the battle of Adowa had established Menelex's position as Negus Negusti (King of Kings), he set to work to extend the borders of his empire by conquest. As Great Britain synchronously was engaged in the reoccupation of the Sudan and in developing her East African protectorate, it became of urgent importance to arrive at a frontier agreement in what, at the time, was practically unexplored country.

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WHITES' DUTY TO END SLAVERY IN ABYSSINIA

BY WYNANT DAVIS HUBBARD

Writer and Explorer Who Has Spent Nine Years in Rhodesia and Africa

A FEW weeks ago Emperor Haile Selassie of Abyssinia issued a proclamation freeing the slaves of his country. Although the question of slavery has been brought before the Ethiopian government many times, never until now has Haile Selassie dared to issue a ruling. Until recently slavery has existed legally in Abyssinia despite the membership of this African empire in the League of Nations and despite the continued protests of the other members.

Now that Abyssinia is being hard pressed by Italy and most especially now that Abyssinia needs the help and sympathy of the world, the emperor has taken action.

No matter what may be said to the contrary, no matter what proclamation the emperor may make, slavery will continue to exist under the loose rule now existing in Ethiopia.

"Slaves for Industry"

Not so very long before he issued his proclamation of freedom the emperor conversed with an American scientist in his capital at Addis Ababa. He made the following statement:

"Ethiopia will welcome capital for the development of natural resources and worthy concessionaires."

In view of that statement and in view of the complete lack of a central government authority, can anyone believe that Haile Selassie's proclamation is anything but a valiant gesture?

I for one do not question the emperor's sincerity. But just as I believe this I also believe that his gesture is an empty one, because of his complete inability to enforce it.

Emperor Haile Selassie can not control the great princes and chieftains of the northern part of his country. Ras Hailu of Gojjam, Ras Guksah of Amhara, Dejasmatch Ayalu of the terrific Simien country, Dejasmatach Goba Salassy of Tigre and Ras Kassa of Shoa all own hundreds of slaves.

Their countries lie 40 days of hard travel from the capital of Addis Ababa. These powerful rulers are completely independent of the central government and only contribute to its support because of voluntary agreements into which they have entered. Some of these men, especially Dejasmatch Ayalu, have definite aspirations toward the throne.

In the south the truculent and powerful Dejasmatch Balcha has refused consistently either to visit his nominal ruler at the capital or to contribute a dollar toward the governmental expenses.

Raids Made for Slaves

In the face of such conditions how can any proclamation by the emperor become really effective? It must be remembered also that in Addis Ababa there are two distinct and often conflicting political parties.

The empress does not see eye to eye with the emperor upon many important questions. She is a daughter of the great Menelik. As such she commands a vast following among the older and more conservative people. She does not approve wholeheartedly of the development of Abyssinia. Neither does she look with anything save grave and deep suspicion upon the entrance of foreigners.

How many Americans have any conception of what slavery means in Africa? It is quite true that in a vast number of cases the slave enters voluntarily into that state and that in such cases the condition more nearly approaches those of serfdom than true slavery.

The raids across the borders of Abyssinia into Kenya Colony, Uganda, the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, Eritrea and Somaliland by Abyssinians in search of "black ivory" are usually organized in the hope of obtaining women and eunuchs. The women are sold either within the boundaries of Abyssinia or are smuggled across the Red Sea and sold in Arabia.

The custom of shutting women up in harems has never been accepted by the civilized nations of Europe and the western hemisphere. The harem is bad enough when it is confined to the assemblage of women who have entered it more or less of their own violition. It is naturally much worse when the harem women are of a strange race who have been torn by force from their families and country and sold to an alien master.

It is the eunuchs who suffer the most. They are specially trained and selected men seized when young and operated upon by persons intending to sell them at a later date.

Under the rule of whites, such barbarous acts would never be permitted. While I am the first to admit that the Emperor Haile Selassie wants to put an end to such conditions, I believe that the powerful princes might well revolt and remove him from his throne if he really attempted it.

Abyssinia is still a country in which debtors are chained to their creditors until they are able to pay what they owe. Food, water, shelter and sex are about all that occupy the minds of the ruling classes. Despite the Abyssianians' claims to Chrisianity, they are ruled by superstition and ancient barbaric practices, of which slavery is only one example.

The abolition of slavery and the establishment of justice would be one of the first responsibilities of any white power which might conquer Abyssinia.

Americans Enlisting Abroad Face Prison

WASHINGTON, July 17.—(AP)—An old statute embracing fine or imprisonment and the possibility of a new one entailing loss of citizenship was waved today in the eyes of would-be recruits for the threatened Italo-Ethiopian war.

The State Department dug up the old statute, enacted in 1818, when reports reached it that men were being enlisted in this country to fight for Emperor Haille Selassie of Ethiopia. The law provides a three-year jail sentence or $1,000 fine.

Simultaneously, Chairman Dickenstein of the House immigration committee announced he would introduce a bill to deprive United States residents of citizenship who left for service in either the Italian or Ethiopian army.

While the Department took cognizance of recruiting reports, it discounted rumors of large munitions shipments from this country to Italy or Ethiopia. Joseph C. Green, of the Department's western European affairs division, told a House committee that "we have no way of knowing exactly, but in impression is that shipments to Italy and Ethiopia either have been negligible or are nonexistent."

ITALY SEES AFRICAN POLICY STILL INTACT

Say Further Efforts of Outsiders for Moderation Will Be Met Coldly.

ROME, July 14.—(AP)—The Italian public was convinced today that Benito Mussolini's aggressive east African policy remained intact despite the collapse of a conciliation commission's British maneuvers for further League jurisdiction and an Ethiopian appeal to America for invocation of the Briand-Kellogg pact.

Well-informed circles feel that any further efforts by outsiders to moderate Italy's policy toward Ethiopia is sure to meet with coolness from this government.

Italy, they said, has made clear that Il Duce's insistence upon what he calls an "integral solution" of the quarrel with Ethiopia is justified.

She is not indifferent to her future status as regards the League of Nations, but feels that France and England should accede to Ethiopia's expulsion from Geneva, or at least a modification of the African kingdom's independence.

Secretary Hull's recent pronouncement against war was received with reserve and the controlled fascist press was cautioned not to delude the public with too great an expectancy of American friendliness for the Italian cause.

CABLES FROM ABYSSINIA COST 68 CENTS PER WORD

LONDON, July 14.—(UP)—Special correspondents sailed for Abyssinia danger zones today, making it certain the communications companies would be the only certain gainers if Italy wars against the black empire.

Minimum cost of each word cabled from Addis Ababa to London is 25 cents. To guarantee speedy transmission through radio and telegraph companies, mostly British, the cost is 68 cents per word.

Direct radio contact between London and Addis Ababa has been established. There are four other possible but slower communication channels between Abyssinia and the outside world.

FASCIST OATH, DECALOGUE TAKEN TO ABYSSINIA

ROME, July 14.—(UP)—Black shirt troops in east Africa today drilled to carry fascism's creeds and Premier Benito Mussolini's philosophy to benighted Abyssinia.

Groups of young volunteers, the flower of Italy's youth, marched under Il Duce's banners emblazoned: "Believe, Obey, Fight."

They transplanted to east Africa the decalogue of the Italian militia man and the pledge to Mussolini. It is far more inclusive in its fidelity and severity than the oaths sworn by the legions which followed Alexander, Caesar, Charlemagne, Attilla, William the Conqueror or Napoleon.

The Decalogue.

The decalogue:

The fascist never believes in perpetual peace.

Days in prison are always deserved.

Youth serve the fatherland, even in so humble a task as guarding a gasoline tank.

A comrade must be a brother, first because he lives with you and second, because he thinks as you do.

The musket and cartridge belt supplied to you have been entrusted to you not to waste carelessly but to keep in good condition for war.

Never say "Anyway the government pays," because it is you who pay and the government is that which you desired and whose uniform you wear.

Discipline is the sun of armies. Without it soldiers know only confusion and defeat.

Mussolini Always Right.

Mussolini is always right.

A volunteer has no attenuating circumstances when he disobeys.

Most precious to you above all: The life of Il Duce.

The oath:

"In the name of God and Italy I swear to follow the orders of Il Duce and serve him with all my strength and, if necessary, with my blood the cause of the fascist revolution."

The desire of Mussolini to instill fascist ideals in colonials was shown in his appointment of Italo Balbo and Emlilio de Bono as governor, of Lybia, and higher commissioner of east African colonies, respectively.

HARLEM ENLISTS RECRUITS FOR SELASSIE

NEW YORK, July 14.—(UP)—The war drums of Ethiopia echoed tonight in the streets of Harlem, largest urban negro district in the world.

Recruits to aid the cause of Emperor Haile Selassie were being "enlisted" by the hundreds on Lenox avenue street corners, mass meetings being held to organize nursing and medical corps and one negro auxiliary planned to provide every barefoot Abyssinian warrior with a pair of shoes.

Resplendant Regalia.

Dusky members of the "black legion," in blinding green shirts, Sam Browne belts, grey breeches and white sun helmets, swaggered through the streets discussing their projected "training camp" near Montrose, N. Y.

An aviation unit, a signal corps and a full regiment of infantry was to be formed among the legion's 1,800 members, "everyone in perfect physical trim to withstand the rigors of the African desert," officials boasted.

Thousands of potential Ethiopian defenders have been signed up by five or six militant Harlem agencies in the past week.

The only difficulty is that none has received official recognition as a recruiting office from the "Lion of Judah," in his scheduled war with Mussolini. International law prohibits enlistment of troops on foreign soil.

"Italian Mad Man."

But that was no deterrent to the Sunday night excitement in Harlem.

"Defend Ethiopia against the Italian mad man," proclaimed one screaming poster near 125th street and Seventh avenue, principal intersection of the huge negro settlement.

In the halls of the Chamber of Commerce a fiery mass meeting was directed by Samuel Daniels, president of the "Pan-Africa Reconstruction Association."

"We already have 700 men and 50 nurses and 15 doctors signed up," Daniels shouted, "and we did that in a single week. Understand, we are accepting 'volunteers,' even though we have no formal understanding with his highness.

"Knit for Soldiers."

"Every black woman should be knitting something for an Ethiopian soldier right now, just as the ladies did during the World War.

"We intend to have our auxiliary send a pair of shoes to every Ethiopian soldier. They're our people and we have a solemn duty to fight in their behalf, because they are fighting for us.

"Ethiopia is the last stronghold of African independence and it is now being threatened by the domineering Italian war-lord."

Daniels had a truck parked in front of the meeting hall, which bore innumerable signs urging a boycott of Italian goods.

"That's the money that is being sent back to Italy," he shouted, "and then it is being used to wage warfare on the Ethiopians. We're going to help in more ways than one.

"We're going to help Ethiopia win its battles through the technical knowledge of our doctors. You can help them more that way than by going over there and being a private in the army."

And then the collection box was passed. This, too, was purely "voluntary," it was pointed out, just like the enlistments.

Race Problem—1935

Abyssinia.

Africa

'Black African Uprising' Is Seen as Grave Peril If Italy Forces Conflict

GENEVA, Sept. 13 (AP)—A solemn warning that "Africa will arise and overthrow" if Europe fans the warlike instincts of the black for her own purposes was flung before the League of Nations assembly today by Charles Theodore te Water, delegate from the Union of South Africa.

To Premier Mussolini of Italy, whose smouldering quarrel with Ethiopia engrossed the assembled statesmen, he addressed this fervent plea:

"Cannot Italy's powerful and purposeful leader pause to consider even at this late hour?"

South Africans, both black and white, view with deep concern and anxiety "the slow and relentless march of the disease of war into our continent," Te Water declared.

Envisaging the danger to Africa as a whole in any attempt to partition Ethiopia, Te Water said the menace is not only to the black races but to white civilization, which has been built up so laboriously on the dark continent.

"Fraught With Danger"

"Let it be said now," he warned the statesmen, "so that the nations may at once regard the fundamentals of our South African attitude, that any partition of Africa outside the covering blanket of the league is too fraught with danger and menace—

"Danger to the adventuring nations themselves; danger to the black peoples of Africa; menace to our own white civilization, which now after centuries of trial and sacrifice has been so firmly and we believe, beneficiently established in southern Africa.

"We are anxiously pondering how far the nations of Europe—indeed, of the world—have considered this acute crisis which darkens the European sky and fills all our minds with forebodings, as the beginning of an as yet undefined movement by Europe toward capitalization of the still thinly-overlaid war-mindedness and the savage and warlike instincts of Black Africa—training of the teeming black races of Africa for war . . . "

Te Water, who expressed hearty approval of the speech this week before the league assembly of Sir Samuel Hoare, the British foreign secretary, also hinted at possible withdrawal from the league when he said:

"We, who have been and desire to continue as the most loyal member of the league, believing profoundly in its purpose, can continue as such only by a deep conviction of its honesty."

Mussolini draws the Ethiopian color line. If an Ethiopian delegate attends league sessions, Italy's delegate will withdraw. Baron Aloisi representing Mussolini says he will sit at the league council table "on the condition that an Ethiopian representative is not seated."

The learned barons should know that the government of Ethiopia is not a negro government, it is a semitic government, only the masses of the people are of the negro race. But that will make no difference.

In Tokyo, according to Universal Service, a call is issued to "Asiatic and African races to do away with the white peril." The "Great Japan Young Men's Association" issues this appeal:

"Arise, colored brothers. Slay the Mediterranean white wolf pouncing on the black lamb in East Africa. Colored brothers throughout the world, stand up and save your poor brother Ethiopians who are in the clutches of the white wolf. Slay that white skinned beast who is threatening the innocent black lamb."

That "white peril" of Italy is ancient. It dealt with Carthage and other protesting countries long ago.

The young Japanese gentlemen ask: "What has Ethiopia done to deserve ruthless devouring by the greedy white wolf?"

They might also ask "what did the Transvaal and the Boers ever do to deserve the 'ruthless devouring' of their country, its gold and diamond mines by the blonde English gentlemen?"

For that matter, what did Manchukuo do to deserve "ruthless devouring" by the very efficient gentlemen of the Japanese army? He devours who has good teeth. England. Italy. Japan have them.

TRULY A SON OF SOLOMON

To the Editor of The Telegraph:

All those who may have doubted that Emperor Haile Salassie was truly the son of King Solomon, must now have another thought coming, after this master stroke of granting the rights to half his Empire to American and British interests.

Realizing that he was in a fair way to lose everything, he makes a good trade for the development of his country's basic wealth, with the understanding that it is to revert to his people at the end of seventy-five years. In the meantime he gets a good rental for something that is not now paying anything, yet is a temptation to stronger countries.

I suspect he not only inherited something from King Solomon, but his mother, the Queen of Sheba, also contributed to his ability to "finess" in a difficult situation.

I have come in contact, very often, with some of the stock that the Queen of Sheba represents. I refer to the good old Southern darkey who has always been a pastmaster in the art of playing one white man against another, and always taking the trick for himself no matter which white man had the trump. J. L. SIBLEY.

Milledgeville.

ABYSSINIA'S OIL CONCESSIONS

Intervention by Washington

The announcement that Abyssinia had granted to an American Company the right to exploit the oil and mineral resources of almost half the country was made at the end of last week. The document, it was stated, had been signed by the Emperor's Minister of Mines but not by the Emperor himself. He was advised not to sign it by the British Foreign Office in a statement issued on Saturday night. This said:

His Majesty's Government have, as yet, received no confirmation of the report, in to-day's press, of the granting of a concession of oil and mineral rights in Abyssinia, but they have felt it necessary to inform the Minister at Addis Ababa that such a concession would undoubtedly be a matter for preliminary consultation by his Majesty's Government with the French and Italian Governments under article 2 of the Tripartite Treaty of 1906.

In these circumstances Sir Sidney Barton has been authorised, if the report is true, to inform the Emperor that his Majesty's Government must, for their part, advise him to withhold the concession.

The news of the concession caused some misunderstanding and excitement which influenced the discussion of the European crisis. Many of the French papers as well as the Italian papers assumed that British interests were behind the grant of the concession. On this assumption the anti-British campaign in the Italian press became even more strident, and it was maintained in the face of the British Government's statement and of the messages from the U.S.A. and London showing that no British capital was involved. Some of the French papers, however, ceased or modified their criticisms. The chief ground for suspicion was that the negotiations for the concession had been conducted by an English financier, Mr. F. W. Rickett.

On Wednesday the atmosphere was changed by the news from America that the company interested in the exploitation had, under pressure from Washington, agreed to withdraw from the concession. It is therefore expected that the grant to the African Development and Exploration Corporation will be cancelled.

At the same time a claim was put forward by a New York business man that he was granted a concession by Abyssinia in July before Mr. Rickett appeared on the scene. The Ethiopean Minister in London admitted that a conditional agreement had been made with Mr. Leo Chertok (the New York business man in question), but that the conditions had not to his knowledge been complied with.

A London firm, Messrs. Hitchens, Jervis, and Partners, civil and mechanical engineers, acted as technical advisers on behalf of Mr. Chertok. Lieutenant Colonel Jervis, a member of the firm, told a reporter that some of those behind Mr. Chertok were British with British capital. He emphasised that Mr. Chertok's group was in existence with the object of developing the mineral resources of Abyssinia several months ago long before the present delicate situation had arisen.

LEGATION'S EXPLANATION

Dr. Martin, the Ethiopian Minister in London, stated that the following letter was addressed by him to Mr. Chertok on July 19:—

Following our conversations to-day, I confirm herewith the arrangement with you as follows:—

That for a period of 90 days from to-day's date you have the sole concession to raise a loan of not less than $1,000,000 as a loan for my country. As security for this loan we are prepared to give you a concession for fifty years on the gold, platinum, oil, and other mineral deposits in territories to be defined and which are under our absolute control.

Mr. Zephiro, secretary to the Legation, said:—

"The letter is merely a confirmation of the conversation which passed between Dr. Martin and Mr. Chertok. It implies that when Mr. Chertok produces the $1,000,000 referred to we shall be prepared to grant concessions. We have not heard so far that the amount is forthcoming.

"We shall naturally stand by the terms of our letter to consider granting him concessions in Abyssinia if Mr. Chertok can find and lend us the $1,000,000. Even then various technicalities will have to be defined and discussed, as it is clearly stated in the letter that the concession will be 'in territories to be defined.' That means the concession will not clash in any way with that granted to Mr. Rickett."

A STATEMENT FROM ADDIS ABABA

ADDIS ABABA, SEPTEMBER 3.

An official communiqué issued to-day says that the Ethiopian Government in granting the concession to the American interests acted within its full

sovereign rights. It goes on:

The concession is exclusively of an economic character, designed to assist the development of the country. The Government has always followed loyally the policy of tending to open widely its territory for the technical and financial activities of all nations disposed to work seriously and honestly without ulterior political motives.

The Government is not disposed to change its attitude in this respect.

Referring to allegations that such a concession is contrary to the 1906 treaty, the communique says that the Ethiopian Government is not a party to this treaty. The communique continues:

"In a letter which he addressed to the Secretary General of the League of Nations on August 7, 1926, Signor Grandi, then Italian Foreign Minister, wrote regarding more especially the recognition by the British Government of the sphere of economic influence exclusively reserved to Italy in certain regions of Ethiopia. It is obvious that this provision constitutes an undertaking which binds solely the Italian and British Governments bu which cannot curtail the liberty o decision of the Ethiopian Government nc limit the possible action of third parties

"Now the British Government is nc involved, directly or indirectly, in th granting of this concession to a American company. Finally, it shoul not be forgotten that the treaty of 190 places an obligation on each signatory t maintain the integrity of Ethiopia territory—an obligation which Italy, as signatory to the said treaty, is preparing openly to violate by having recourse t war in defiance of all her internationa obligations."—Press Association Foreign Special.

[This communiqué was issued before the American oil company withdrew from the concession.]

ITALIAN SUSPICIONS

ROME, SEPTEMBER 1.

The Italian attitude on the whole is one of satisfaction, for it is felt that if there is such a concession it will be proof to the other members at the meeting of the League on September 4 that Britain is not thinking so much of League principles with regard to Abyssinia as of her own personal interests and that Britain under such circumstances is not likely to obtain support for any sanctions against Italy.

Articles in the press show that Italians are not prepared to accept the official statement made by the British Government as disposing of the matter and they imply that "perfidious Albion" is "up to her tricks again."

Dr. Virginia Gayda writes in the new Sunday newspaper "Voce d'Italia" under a large heading, "Much rumour and surprise concerning the British concession in Ethiopia—in search of truth." Dr. Gayda quotes the British Government's official statement with regard to the story but implies that, in view of the fact that the news of the concession was published in the British press, he is not convinced that there is not some truth in it. He goes on:

"These reports cannot but compromise Britain's reputation, for she is bound under the treaties of 1891, 1894, and 1906 concluded with Italy not to obtain monopolies in Ethiopia and to respect the large zones in Ethiopia reserved to Italian interests. We must add that these reports signify new violations on the part of Ethiopia of treaties and contracts she has concluded, and gives further justification for Italian accusations. The Treaty of Klobukowski excludes under article 2 the possibility of any monopoly of buying or selling in Abyssinia in favour of this or that group. In giving a monopolistic concession to the Rickett company the British Government has therefore once again violated a treaty it has signed."—Reuter.

NEW YORK TIMES

Kenya Group Asks Natives to Aid Ethiopia, Then Fight to 'Emancipate' Africa's Negroes

Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

NAIROBI, Kenya, Oct. 6.—A meeting of Africans convened by the Kikuyu Central Association, a political body not recognized by the government, passed a resolution today declaring that East African natives should "go and fight for their Ethiopian brothers" and appealing to the Negroes of Africa to take the present dispute as the right opportunity for the emancipation of colored peoples "from oppressive imperialist foreign governments."

The resolution, however, congratulates the British Government on its attitude at Geneva and requests that all who wish be permitted to go to Ethiopia to aid in the fight for that country's independence. It also urges an embargo on colonial goods intended for Italy. Kenya is a British colony.

It is most unlikely that Kenya natives generally take more than a passive interst in the conflict, especially the tribes living at a distance from the frontier. Phrases such as "colored workers of the world" and "imperialist governments" suggest that the resolution originated outside of Africa.

CAIRO, Oct. 6 (AP).—The Coptic Patriarch Anba Joannis and Prince Omar Tussun issued a joint manifesto today stressing their apprehension over the fate of the Blue Nile in the Italo-Ethiopian war. They also appealed for funds to help Ethiopia.

Belgians Praise Ethiopian Army

News of War Scarce in Jibuti, Seaport of Addis Ababa

By W. M. Holmes

(Daily Worker War Correspondent)

JIBUTI, Oct. 13.—The train to Addis Ababa, capital of Ethiopia, is only three hours distance from here but it would be difficult to find a place where information about the war was scarcer.

There is no news via the radio and only some Paris newspapers dated Sept. 20 are to be found.

Yet here, on the edge of the desert, correspondents from all countries are waiting either to enter Ethiopia or to proceed elsewhere. When a ship enters the port of Jibuti, we ask eagerly what the radio had picked up.

The European population here, which is normally 300, now numbers well over 1,000. Traders, missionaries, and others of the sort arrive here from Ethiopia. Troops and officers are coming in from France to strengthen the railway guard.

The European population is amazingly indifferent as regards the war. Trade is their main preoccupation and one frequently hears that Ethiopia is a paradise of wealth if only a European count. took possession of it. The question of the rights of the Ethiopians simply does not arise since no one considers them anything but a race destined to subjection by some European power. The only question is, whom?

Opposition to Italy is here not noticeable, equally lacking is enthusiasm for British policy. The scramble for Ethiopia is taken for granted with the major attention centered on the question of who will grab the lion's share.

The Belgian military mission to Ethiopia arrived here by train yesterday from Harar. They bear messages of congratulations from Haile Selassie.

Interviews with one member of the Belgian mission revealed the opinion that the Ethiopian soldiers were magnificent, capable of resisting the Italians for twenty years.

Ethiopian Traitor Arranged

MANY MONTHS AGO IN ROME

SAYS NEWSPAPER

ADDIS ABABA.—(ANP)—"Surrender" of Dedjasmatch Haile Selassie Gugsa, son-in-law of the Ethiopian emperor, who went to the Italians with 1,500 warriors, instead of being a moral victory as Mussolini would have it believed, was purely the culmination of a bargain arranged with Rome several months ago, it has just been revealed.

Ras Gugsa, who has been made a puppet emperor by Il Duce, had always been jealous of Haile Sclassie and his marriage to the Emperor's daughter did nothing to allay his envy. When Italy's determination to attack Ethiopia became clear, Ras Gugsa negotiated with Rome. His "surrender" in the midst of the fighting was stagemanaged, and the Ras played his part to perfection. This information was obtained by a correspondent of a London daily paper.

Clears Situation

The Emperor, however, feels a good deal of satisfaction at the desertion of Ras Gugsa, for it cleared up a very tense situation in the northern armies. Ras Gugsa and Linn Mas Ras Sioum are life-long enemies. Both are related to the emperor by marriage, Ras Sioum's daughter having married the Crown Prince, and Haile Selassie Gugsa the Princess.

At the death of Ras Gugsa, the little king of the Tiger province years back, his adopted son, Haile Selassie Gugsa, was promised the kingship but he was done out of it by Ras Sioum. Ras Gugsa remembers this and his hate lingers.

As a general Ras Sioum, who remained loyal, is the more important. He is more popular and powerful. It is stated that Italian bribes failed to corrupt Ras Sioum, who chastised the Italian emissaries and threw them out. The Emperor knows he will not lose Ras Sioum as long as Ras Gugsa is with Mussolini.

Race Problem—1935

Abyssinia

Africa

NATURE'S DEFENSES PROTECT ETHIOPIA

Crags and Chasms, Thick Bush and Briars Bar Path of Invader Through Tigre.

JOURNEY MADE BY MULE

French Woman Journalist Penetrates Realm of Noted Chieftain, Ras Seyoum.

By MARCELLE PRAT.

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ADDI UGRI, Eritrea, July 12 (By Mail).—At Addi Ugri, close to the Ethiopian frontier, the idea came to me that I should persist in my efforts to persuade the authorities to let me penetrate Ethiopia.

"Adowa, the capital of Tigré," I was told, "is tucked away in mountains almost inaccessible. Even mules have all they can do to make the trails. Of course, it would be interesting for you to see Ras Seyoum, the ruler of the district, but you will be refused permission to go into Tigré now."

"What do you know about Ras Seyoum?" I asked.

"Nothing. He is wrapped in the greatest of mystery. His palace is out of reach. From Addis Ababa it takes a month's journey to reach him by mule, and our side of the frontier is closed. So, you see, it is not often that he has visitors. However, it is on his troops that victory or the utter defeat of Ethiopia depends."

Prince Seyoum is the grandson of that formidable Yohannes who, it is said, drew his guns and ammunition from the English, succeeded in reducing all his rivals and took the title of Negus Negusti (King of Kings). Crowned at Axum, the holy city, he took the name Yohannes in 1879. His reign was one long series of internal wars.

Killed in Fighting Dervishes.

Menelik, King of Shoa, was his great rival, and Menelik was supported by the Italians, whose interest it was to sow discord in Ethiopia. Ultimately Yohannes was killed in fighting the dervishes, and only his untimely death enabled Menelik to assume power. It was Menelik's soldiers who defeated the Italians at Adowa in 1895.

Chance, or fate, played suddenly into my hands, and I was able to cross the frontier into Ethiopia. One morning a gentleman met me at my hotel and told me to follow. He informed me that General Emilio de Bono (Italian High Commissioner in Africa) would no longer oppose my journey.

The Ethiopian consul said his wife would travel with me, and the following morning she came for me.

We were to travel by car as far as the River Maob. From that point we should travel with the caravan sent by the Prince Seyoum.

Mine was a peculiar sensation when at last we met the caravan. As I descended from the car, I found myself faced by a rampart of blacks with thick, stiff hair, who welcomed us by bowing till their foreheads touched the ground.

I was allotted a caparisoned white mule, a saddle ornamented with gold and beads, a collar of engraved silver, little silver bells. This odd beast was almost entirely wrapped in cloth.

Accompanied by our escort, we went forward to the land of the King of Kings. Our road wound along, now ascending, now descending. Our escort marched alongside, giants in bronze, with thick lips, bare feet and guns on their shoulders. They were chattering incessantly in their own tongue.

Heat Compelled a Halt.

Our caravan moved like a caterpillar across the mountains. The kingdom of the King of Kings unfolded itself reluctantly. The heat finally compelled a halt.

"We will stop at the first village," said the consul's wife.

A few straw shelters, a carpet stretched under a tree—that was our halting place; and there we were to stay until the sun moved down toward the horizon.

We pressed on by moonlight, clamped to our mules. I was ready to cry "Enough," but I had to hold on.

In the light of the moon a peak, bristling with lances, shone. The polished steel of the arms caught the beams and threw them back. A hundred soldiers waited for us above. My pulse quickened.

In the gorges hyenas yowled. A war song came from the mountain top. Those were extraordinary minutes during which we traveled toward a human barricade with lances catching the moonlight. Not a man among them moved.

The Consul's wife, preceded by twenty of our men with fixed bayonets, went ahead. I followed. She began the crossing of a platform similar to a drawbridge. When she pulled up her mule, the soldiers halted and we waited in silence.

From the summit, a mounted soldier approached at the gallop, lance in hand. In a twinkling he was there, the chief man of the district, his cape flowing in the wind. The warrior threw himself to earth before us, paid his respects and gave us clear passage. Now our caravan followed him, and slowly we defiled between two ranks of soldiers.

Eats the National Bread.

Two chairs were brought for us. On a straw table they served a meal, chicken, eggs, rice and pimiento sauce. Everything was brought in on a sort of soft, elastic paste, a dirty gray in color, which looked like cloth. But those great pancakes were the national bread, the ingera. After eating we went into a tent, the Consul's wife and I, to sleep.

At 3 o'clock in the morning we were up. Slowly the sun rose behind the mountains. Beyond those mountains—was there an army eager to be on the move? I arose abruptly, and went after a little information.

"Where are we now?"

"This is a strategical point. The first line of defense of the Province."

I look around. There was no telegraph post, no telephone.

"How do you send news to the army?"

"Quite easily. We light beacons, and each column of smoke that rises writes its message in the sky. We have a complete code. Our people will read the declaration of war in the sky!"

Vainly I searched for gun emplacements, for barricades, ramparts, or fortress. Nothing of that sort could be seen.

In this country war meant an entirely different thing from our conception of it.

As we journeyed into the Province of Tigré—that spur of Ethiopia which is actually the key to the kingdom of the King of Kings—the land formed a formidable barrier to our progress, a barrier which increased as we approached Adowa. The surface of the earth was rougher, the mountains sharper, the chasms steeper.

Land Protected by Nature.

It seemed as though the land of the King of Kings was entrenched behind frontiers of impenetrable vegetation; thick bush and briars, more plentiful than the most extravagant use of barbed wire on the Hindenburg Line, combined with giant thorns to protect the country.

I wondered how artillery could ever be carried up those perpendicular sides of the ravines or along the beds of the torrents which were thick with massive rocks. How could they negotiate the trees and the sand?

For every gun that may be emplaced in this region it will be necessary to clear the earth first, then to work with pick and explosive to tear mountains apart, to reduce the massive walls of a natural fortress.

A detachment of soldiers came to meet us.

"They are the men of Ras Seyoum!" cried the consul's wife.

There were more than 200 enormous fellows in baggy pantaloons, with bare heads and bare feet. They marched in formation, with cartridge belts around their waists, swords that fell to their heels, guns on their shoulders.

From the four cardinal points the Chafs descended the mountains, until our escort totaled more than 300 warriors of Tigré.

It was almost noon. We were at the door of Adowa, to the tinkling of harness bells, the clink of dances and swords ornamented with silver and gold.

Enveloped in wraps almost to their necks, mettlesome mules carried strange cavaliers in their purple saddles, soldiers with tangled hair and black faces, dressed like matadors.

From the hillsides nearby music burst on the air, and it was to that strange melody that we crossed the first threshold of Adowa.

A steep, pebbly street rose before us. Adowa consists of long, winding corridors, which lead to the palace of Ras Seyoum.

Billeted in Chief's House.

At the word of command, our caravan and escort passed through a ruined gateway and came to a halt. We climbed a broken staircase and took our place behind a sort of counter that was covered with plush. We were kept waiting for a time that seemed interminable. It seemed as though Ras Seyoum had forgotten all about us.

Then we were informed that the house to which we had been brought, and which was to be our lodging, belonged to a great chieftain.

I looked around. There was no bed—only a little straw on the floor and a few carpets hung on the walls.

"We are really expected to live here?"

"Yes, but don't worry; they will bring up your camp-bed."

There was no furniture, no water, not even a basin. The windows were simply loopholes cut in the walls. That night, since our servants would sleep at our feet, four or five people would sleep in the room.

Machinery had not changed this country. The ways of life were those of the time of Solomon. The thought of God could still rouse the crowds to fanaticism, so that, when one spoke of war, they replied: "The Ethiopian extends his hand toward God and has need of none other!"

Who, without melancholy, could visualize this strange and somewhat beautiful survival being crushed by artillery?

Very carefully, as though it were only part of my casual inspection of the city, I followed a little investigation on the point of arms and preparation. I saw perhaps a thousand or twelve hundred rifles, all of the same make. They were relics of Adowa, bearing the name St. Etienne, as well as a few Belgian and German makes.

Actually, the great influx of modern arms of which so much had been said in the newspapers to my knowledge had not penetrated to the city.

ETHIOPIA

George & Mary & Ualual

Importantly in London last week Ethiopia's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Dr. Azaj Wargneh Martin, observed that J. P. Morgan is now in the British Isles and that it would be most gratifying if they could get together on a $10,000,000 loan. Next day an enormous limousine carried Ethiopia's envoy to Buckingham Palace and, in behalf of his sovereign Emperor Power of Trinity, the Conquering Lion of Judah, the King of Kings and the Elect of God, coffee-colored Minister Martin proceeded to decorate King George and Queen Mary.

After somewhat fantastic genealogical research the late Queen Victoria became obstinately convinced that her Royal Family is descended from Biblical King David.



International

ETHIOPIA'S AZAJ WARGNEH MARTIN

. . . *handed over Solomon & Sheba.*

Today Emperor Power of Trinity is as

obstinately convinced that his ancestors sprang from the loins of Biblical King Solomon, son of David. Thus British and Ethiopian royalty would be related by a faint strain of Jewish blood. George V, who does not share his grandmother's enthusiasm for King David as an ancestor, last week let himself be invested by Dr. Martin with the gold chain of the Ethiopian Order of King Solomon, and Queen Mary received the gold chain of the Order of Saba (or Sheba). In neither case did Ethiopia's envoy venture to put the gold chains around Their Majesties' necks, merely handed them over.

Meanwhile in Addis Ababa sharp-nosed Power of Trinity was celebrating his 44th birthday. When the U. S. Chargé d'Affaires, William Perry George, arrived at the Palace, a large and ostensibly impromptu Ethiopian crowd suddenly produced small U. S. flags from beneath their loose garments, waved these frantically and shrilled something that was supposed to sound like "Long live America!" During the birthday reception, the Abouna Kyrillos, head of Ethiopia's Christian Coptic Church, stood with his large right foot prominently planted on the base of the Emperor's Throne. Grouped around His Majesty were potent chiefs, headed by Ras Mouloguета, Minister of War. Pointedly absent was the Italian Minister. Said native courtiers with arched eyebrows: "Such an affront is much more grave in Ethiopia, where we attach such great importance to etiquette."

Obedient to etiquette, the Emperor, after bidding his foreign guests good-by, sat down with 5,000 officers and soldiers of all ranks to a characteristic Ethiopian feast of whole sheep and oxen, served raw and warm from the kill, and washed down with heroic drafts of *tej* or mead. Etiquette further decrees that such a royal feast shall close with Homeric boasting.

"How do you think we routed Mussolini's tanks in the skirmish at Ualual?" roared a chief. "We routed them with cattle! Our bullets would not pierce the steel monsters, so we stampeded our herds against them. In the blinding dust raised by the brave beasts' hoofs our valorous warriors rushed upon the blinded Italian cowards! We shoved our rifles into the gun holes of their tanks—Bang! Bang! Bang!—We took possession of the bullet-proof machines. . . ."

Strict etiquette consecrates the whole afternoon to such boasting, but Emperor Power of Trinity rose at 3 p. m. to attend Ethiopian patriotic dramas in which the Ethiopians were invariably victorious.

Native Bills Flutter.

Enthusiasm in Bantu circles continues to grow unabated on the proposal to convene a mammoth congress of black representatives of all provinces South of the Zambesi to discuss the Native Bills. Indicative of feeling running high are the contributions hereunder which speak for themselves. Our esteemed correspondent, Mr. Akena makes a slight error in saying Dr. Seme convenes an All-African convention to meet at Bloemfontein on the 16th December next.

Our information is to the effect that Dr. Seme is calling together the African National Congress to meet at Bloemfontein on 3 August. Indeed it would help to clear the mists of misunderstanding, and help avoid confusion if Dr. Seme explained at the earliest opportunity the relationship, so far as he is concerned, between the August meeting of the A.N.C. Congress he is convening, and the proposed All-African convention on the Native Bills.

Mr. Sol. P. Akena of Cradock writes thereanent as follows :—

"The value of the lead given by Professor Jabavu-subsequently followed by other leaders in suggesting that an All-African Convention, under the leadership of Dr. Seme, be held at Bloemfontein on the 16th December to express Native opinion on the Native Bills and Incorporation of the Protectorates, cannot be overestimated. If all the various Native organisations, at present distracted by a bewildering conflict of interests, can be prevailed upon to respond to this urgent clarion call, the proposed convention should be the biggest and most representative Native gathering ever held south of the Zambesi, and as such would carry weight in official circles and would further strengthen the hands of those fair-minded and unprejudiced Europeans who have taken upon themselves the noble but thankless task of championing the cause of the subject races of the sub-continent. Moreover, such a Convention apart from dealing with this immediate emergency of the moment, would by virtue of its representative character, be best qualified to devise means of bringing about such closer co-operation between the many existing organisations as will eventually bring them all under the control of one Supreme National Council, somewhat on the same lines indicated in the memorandum drawn up by the African National Congress at Bloemfontein last December. To mention just one direction in which this desired unity could be achieved. There is no reason why every member of the Cape Voters Association should not belong to the Cape African Congress and vice versa; and in a more or less degree this applies to many other organisations that have the same objects, but cannot be made to see the advantage of pooling their resources. We appeal to our leaders to drop their factional differences and to present a united front to this national danger that threatens to cut at the nerves and sinews of our political existence. We further appeal to our leaders to concentrate on making this Convention a success by working towards obtaining the unity of the African masses rather than on procuring those personal objects on which they have fixed their own exclusive attachment. In the past this diversity of opinion and aspirations, coupled with a suicidal indifference to the real interests of the race, has retarded our progress, but the force of community of interests must to-day weld us together, and should this Convention bring about a greater realisation of the need for co-operation amongst Africans, then we shall be justified in regarding the Native Bills as a blessing in disguise.

Therefore, in my capacity as General Secretary of the Cape African Congres, I call upon all our branches in the Cape to start an extensive campaign of organisation to ensure that we send our full quota of representatives in the Cape delegation to this all important African Convention."

"Sifuba Sibanzi," of Willowmore on the same subject writes:—

"If ever a nation had reasonable grounds for a common, national sentiment it is surely the Black people of the Union of South Africa.

The leaders have now sounded the trumpet—Dr. Seme's and Prof. Jabavu's invitations for an all African Conference at Bloemfontein. It is the duty of every educated (or otherwise) African to rally and show, or rather teach white South Africa the clay of which we are moulded.

The very fabric of our existence is at stake; the more we advance in accordance with the requirements of Western civilisation the more are we stinted. Our salvation is in our own hands (Downing Street is no longer if she ever was) the hill from whence cometh liberty.

We have during the twenty-five years of Union (as well as in pre Union days) been ruthlessly trampled under-foot'd injustices, but these we endured with the patience of a Job. Even the ranks of Tuscany can scarce resist taking back on a policy of possible resistance. We are looked upon as social as well as political lepers in the soil of our birth.

Africans, let us all join hands and say to our leaders "I'll abide on thy right" at Bloemfontein in December and at all times Let us awaken and arm ourselves there is much spade work needed to straighten our status as citizens of South Africa and nowhere else.

If the teachers in their conferences, would moot the questions of:—Incorporation of the Protectorates and the Report of the Select Committee on the so called Native Bills, it will certainly be the right thing to do.

The advocates of white civilisation, which must be preserved seem to forget that there is a Power that is above the low—a Power that arraigns the actions of men.

"Abyssinia Proper"

There is reason to believe that the Italian Government will try to negotiate profitable terms of peace on the distinction between "Abyssinia proper" and the "conquered provinces of Abyssinia." By "Abyssinia proper" or "Abyssinia within her historic boundaries" is meant the Amharic provinces in which the ruling race of Amharis predominate in numbers as well as authority. These provinces are usually considered to be Tigré, Amhara, and Shoa—that is, the north-west portion of the Abyssinian plateau, or (in simple terms) the top left quarter of Abyssinia as seen on the map. These were the provinces of King John, King Theodore, and King Menelik, who, in the latter half of the nineteenth century, each in turn united the three, thus making it possible for Menelik to create Abyssinia as it is to-day. But there are other classifications. The Italian view only puts the northern part of Shoa in Abyssinia proper, leaving the south, including Addis Ababa itself, among the "conquered provinces." The excuse for this is that the southern half of Shoa is largely inhabited by the Galla race. Again, there is a tendency to exclude Tigré from the list on the ground that the people of Tigré are not really true Amharis. Certainly they speak a dialect so different as to amount to another language. The truth is that no clear definition can be made and the whole distinction is specious and untenable. So again with the "historic boundaries"; at what point does "history" start? In the eighteenth century, when the Abyssinian Empire was reduced to the three warring provinces in the north-west, or the sixth, when the Kingdom of Aksum ruled from the Nile to the Indian Ocean and even beyond the sea in Arabia? If the first, then no doubt the rest of Abyssinia is "conquered" territory; if the second, it is only reconquered and regained.

Race Problem – 1935

Africa

Abyssinia

Dr. Willis N. Huggins To Sail To Europe In Interest Of Ethiopia

7-27-35

Early in August, Dr. Willis N. Huggins, historian and teacher of history in a New York City high school, will sail for London, Paris and Geneva to express the sentiments of the American Negro in the Italian-Ethiopian controversy.

He has been in touch with a well known Abyssinian physician in Paris and expects to meet the Abyssinian minister to Paris, who is also that country's delegate to the League of Nations. Discussions will be held regarding such non-military help that volunteer groups in America may give within the limits set by the United States Government. He said that volunteer nurses and physicians would be needed and he hoped to see plans worked out for their transportation to Ethiopia.

To Meet Peace Societies

Dr. Huggins will be received in London by the League of Colored Peoples, by the African Society and by the West African Students Union. In Paris he will be received by the Paris Branch of the League of Colored Peoples and other liberal groups.

In Geneva he will confer with Miss Emily Balch, secretary of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, organized after the world war by the late Jane Adams. Dr. Huggins hopes through these and other allied agencies to create a permanent world-wide organization of the friends of Ethiopia.

He expects to return to his work in New York early in September.

ETHIOPIANS DEFY POWER OF ITALY

Macon Ga

7-21-35

Arrogant Blacks Are Confident They Can Repeat Victory of Adowa if Molested

Macon

ADDIS ABABA, July 20 (AP).—Concentration of Italian troops and munitions in North Africa has brought no fear to the average Ethiopian. The battle of Adowa, when an Italian army was virtually slaughtered by an enormous force of wild Abyssinian fighters, is still fresh in the memory of this empire.

The Ethiopian is today, therefore, arrogant as regards his fighting ability, and he matches his arrogance with courage. Wars and fighting are not new to Ethiopia. The whole history of the country is one of internecine wars, of government overthrown, of raids and adventure, with here and there an enlightened monarch.

In its early history, it is evident, Ethiopia had an intimate connection with Egypt, and carried on commerce with the Hebrews as well. Christianity was introduced about 300 A. D., and during these early centuries, historians believe, Ethiopia at one time possessed a good part of Arabia.

Emperor's Power Supreme

A series of Portuguese missions to the country began in the 15th century, and since that time Ethiopia has struggled along much as it does today, with various monarchs in command.

Theoretically Ethiopia is today a constitutional monarchy, although in practice it must be deemed an absolute monarchy. The constitution, establishing a parliament of senators and deputies, was decreed by Emperor Haile Selassie in 1931. The senate consists of feudal chieftains. The house of deputies is, theoretically, elected by the soldier element of the empire. In both chambers the emperor prompts legislation, and can easily obtain whatever legislation he may desire.

There are an estimated 7,500,000 people in Ethiopia, mainly non-Negro Africans with Semitic blood. About half this number are real Ethiopians, the ruling class, including government officials, soldiers, and priests. Amharic is the official and national tongue.

Much of the actual government of the empire is administered by Haile Selassie himself, with the aid of a Belgian military mission, a Swedish political adviser, a Swiss legal adviser, and an American financial adviser. The American is E. A. Colson, formerly of Haiti, who has held his present position for five years.

The Ethiopians themselves are practically all illiterate and uneducated.

Riding for a Fall

Dispatches from Vienna indicate that large numbers of Italians are trooping across the frontiers into Austria and Yugoslavia in order to escape conscription into the Italian army preparatory to military operations against Ethiopia.

At one point 900 of these Italians had crossed the border in the past few days and at another point 50 had sought safety from enforced military service by leaving Italy. It is admitted that a large number of these refugees are Slovene or German in their racial descent, but their flight is none the less significant. It is evident that in spite of all the Fascist ballyhoo about the glory of going out and fighting being greater than a life of inaction in any circumstances does not greatly impress many Italian subjects. They are luke-warm towards Mussolini and the whole "authoritarian state" under which they live. They have an old-fashioned notion that there is quite as much glory in contributing to the peace and welfare of the world by spreading wealth and enlightment as there is in an expedition to shoot down tens of thousands of innocent and inoffensive subjects of the Emperor of Ethiopia, whose territory is coveted by the ruthless dictator who is now riding Italy like the Old Man of the Sea.

Dispatches also tell us that entrenchments are being constructed along the Austrian border, evidently in anticipation of an outbreak against Italy as soon as any considerable number of Italian military forces are withdrawn from those borders and sent to Ethiopia.

It is rather generally agreed that Mussolini has entered upon the most desperate and hazardous enterprise of his entire career. He has been bluntly told by Great Britain that he will not be allowed to set up a protectorate over Ethiopia and that any settlement of the question at issue must be arrived at on the basis of the Kellogg-Briand pact. At the very least, he has alienated the friendship of Great Britain, whose aid he might yet need and which would be denied in the hour of his extreme peril.

There is not the slightest chance that the Italian expedition can be successful without a struggle which may last for years and cost a stupendous sum of money, which Italy cannot afford. Hostilities may break out on the Austrian or the Yugoslav border at any time. We can well imagine that certain elements in those two countries and in Germany are laughing in their sleeves at the folly of the Italian dictator, who is rushing headlong on his fate.

There is no way of knowing just how the great body of Italian people feel, deep down in their hearts, and what they would do and say if they were not held down by the iron hand of menace and censorship.

It is by no means improbable that Mussolini is riding for a fall.

The Wolf and the Lamb

THE League of Nations, wounded at Corfu in 1923, and over whose corpse Japan seized Manchuria and the war in the Gran Chaco went on for years, should, now that the Abyssinian affair seems well on the way to its denouement, be buried, not so much in the interest of justice as of public health and decency. After several weeks of footless discussion the Italo-Abyssinian Conciliation Commission gave up the ghost at Scheveningen. Although the purpose of the commission's negotiations had been peaceful settlement of the Italo-Abyssinian dispute, with particular reference to the affair at Ualual, the Italian delegates refused further mediation when Professor Gaston Jeze, in presenting Abyssinia's case, insisted on declaring that Ualual was in Abyssinian territory, as pertinent to the discussion. Although the creation of the League commission of four on May 25 provided, in the event of a disagreement, for the selection of a fifth member who might bring about an adjudication, the commission adjourned without any proposals for further meetings. Abyssinia has now demanded that the dispute be brought before the League Council at its meeting in August, but even Emperor Haile Selassie must know, what the European countries are at no pains to conceal, on how frail a reed he is leaning when he suggests such further negotiation.

How pertinent is the old fable! The wolf said to the lamb, "I shall eat you for muddying the water," and when the lamb attempted to explain that this was impossible, since he was drinking below stream, the wolf replied: "Then I shall eat you anyway. Why do I need an excuse?" In the modern version there is, of course, a difference. The wolf is supported by a circle of other wolves, which, if they are not prepared to join in the banquet, are at least determined not to interfere.

It is predicted that the war will begin in September, when the rainy season has ended. Signor Mussolini declares that nothing shall stand in the way of his conquest of Abyssinia! Rome considered the attempt of the American and French delegates at Scheveningen to prolong the discussions a plan to "wreck the commission," and Italian officials are unable to understand any suggestion that the United States might invoke the Kellogg Pact, since this country "has no sphere of influence" in Abyssinia. Simple adherence to a treaty to which Italy and the United States were parties, and which attempted to make war impossible, is incomprehensible to a country bent on territorial aggrandizement at whatever cost.

As a result of Secretary Hull's latest discussions with the French, British, and Italian ambassadors on July 11, at which, without actually invoking the pact to outlaw war, he expressed the deep concern of the United States for the preservation of peace, it is not unlikely that further discus-

sions will take place in an attempt to prevent hostilities. But it would be idle to suppose that any such negotiations will be successful. The Duce is playing the game with all his cards on the table, and he is well aware that no country has given any indication of effectively challenging him, or is likely to do so. France, Great Britain, Japan, even Sweden are politely disassociating themselves from the affair, if not directly then by joining the embargo against the exportation of arms to Abyssinia. A particularly ominous note has been struck in the declaration of the International Red Cross that it will not be able to be of aid to Abyssinia in the event of war, since the Emperor has not yet found it possible to give the necessary guaranties demanded by the Geneva Red Cross Convention of 1929. The lamb, in other words, will be eaten; and not only will the slaughter take place without interference, but such wounds as it may suffer before its final demise will not be ministered to in the manner which has been demanded by humanity for more than half a century.

At least one thing should be eminently clear from the progress of the Italo-Abyssinian struggle. Not only is the League of Nations shown—one may hope for the last time—to be hopelessly inadequate to deal with international disputes when these are projected by a determined and predatory government, but treaties to "outlaw war" are equally displayed to the world in all their futility. The system of economic sanctions, moreover, when it takes the form of an embargo on the exportation of arms to a belligerent or about-to-be belligerent country, is shown to have its weaknesses. Italy, with a handsome corps of munitions factories to call upon, is not concerned with the problem. Abyssinia must buy arms from other countries, and however admirable in principle may be their refusal to sell munitions of war, in fact this refusal contributes to the weakness of what is already incomparably the weaker nation. In the face of the time-honored processes of aggression, in short, our modern diplomacy is shown to have few advantages over the old system. It takes more than a signature on a treaty to stop a tyrant.

Recruiting for Ethiopian Army Ignored by U.S.

WASHINGTON. — Although solicitation for enlistment in foreign service is forbidden by U.S code, the State Department announced last week that it would not interfere with the recruiting of Americans for the Ethiopian army unless formal protest is made.

Frank Parrish, white, assistant to the chief of the criminal division of the Department of Justice, is quoted as saying that the State Department has received no protests. Should such be received, it was explained, they would be turned over to the Department of Justice as a matter of routine.

Mr. Parrish is also quoted as saying that the recruiting in Harlem "has all the earmarks of a racket."

Lion of Judah Defies Rome's Eagles

Haile Selassie Invokes God of Solomon and David to Arouse Ethiopia's Warriors, Pledging Fight to Last Man Against Invader

Men and women, Christians and Mohammedans, young and old, were called upon in Ethiopia's Parliament House at Addis Ababa, on July 18, to fight to the death against Italy in the "sacred cause of Ethiopian independence."

From his imperial box in the Parliament House opposite the great palace, the Ethiopian King of Kings, in khaki, declared to a vast audience of parliamentarians, soldiers, and citizens: "Your sovereign now speaking will be among you unhesitatingly to spill all his own blood for independence."

While he warned Premier Benito Mussolini that he must respect Ethiopia's independence and territorial integrity, the Emperor at the same time considered a possibility of war unflinchingly, and told the world Ethiopia was prepared to resist to the last man.

Scenes of wild enthusiasm, both in Parliament and in public squares outside, greeted the Emperor's defiant utterances. To Members of Parliament, tribal chieftains, and leaders of his army, the King of Kings and Conquering Lion of Judah said:

"God will be our fortress and shield and the modern armament of aggressors can not deter our duty for Ethiopian independence."

As Haile Selassie's dynasty claims direct descent from King Solomon, the God upon whom the Emperor called is the God of Solomon and David. Ethiopian Christians are Copts.

The dark, curly-bearded Emperor did not order general mobilization of Ethiopia's fierce warriors, but he did sound a call to approaching battle, when he shouted:

"Our ancestors preserved their independence by sacrificing their lives. Follow their example."

Object of Negotiations

Before and after the Emperor's exhortation to his people negotiations were in progress, according to Rome dispatches, by the Italian, British, and French Foreign Ministers to discover a way out of the difficulties in which the great Powers and the League of Nations have been placed by the Italo-Ethiopian controversy. The negotiations were said to have a twofold object:

1. To devise a formula permitting the League to wash its hands of the affair without too severe a blow to its prestige.

2. To find a method of directly dealing with the controversy.

Robert Worth Bingham, American Ambassador at London, told Sir Samuel Hoare, Britain's Foreign Secretary, of the "grave concern" felt by the United States over the Italo-Ethiopian crisis. In a memorandum, Mr. Bingham reminded Sir Samuel that there was a declaration that the United States was interested in peace in all parts of the world.

A plan for an Anglo-Franco-Italian meeting at Paris to avert war between Italy and Ethiopia was reported to have been abandoned because no basis for agreement could be found. France, according to dispatches, had insisted that if the meeting were held there must be an advance agreement in general terms, lest the meeting further anger Signor Mussolini, instead of leading to a peaceable settlement.



Acme

Emperor Haile Selassie I (with shotgun): "God will be our fortress and shield"

Hope for peace seems to lie in hotel-room negotiations when the League of Nations Council meets at Geneva.

Press Has Its Theories

Some European critics of Premier Mussolini have remarked that it is an old theory with liberal historians that dictatorship is almost bound, sooner or later, to make war.

The Manchester Guardian, perhaps the world's most famous liberal newspaper, held to this theory about Italy's threat of war against Abyssinia. It printed an article by an Italian expatriate living in Paris, Carlo Roselli, avowedly anti-Fascist, who insisted that Mussolini realizes he is slipping, and knows that he must create a diversion.

The Vancouver *Daily Province* was impressed by the fact that Signor Roselli claimed that Fascism in Italy no longer commands the loyal allegiance of the younger generation. The Roselli argument was that Fascism controlling the whole of Italy's national life has killed its opposition, and, with it, has killed the initiative of the nation.

Signor Roselli does not say that the Blackshirt régime is in any immediate danger of revolt—but he does say that Il Duce realizes he must supply his Blackshirts with a new and stronger stimulant.

Race Problem – 1935

Africa

Abyssinia

THE ABYSSINIAN DISPUTE

Manchester Guardian Weekly. New York 7-12-35

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In Geneva it is considered probable that the Abyssinian Government will ask that the Council of the League should meet immediately, but there is good reason to fear, says Reuter, that Italy will refuse to attend any meeting earlier than that fixed for August 25.

The suggestion is made by a leading Paris newspaper that the British Government is considering giving its approval to the summoning of such an immediate meeting, but nothing is known in London of the proposal.

The procedure in case of a breakdown at Scheveningen was definitely laid down by agreement when the question was before the League of Nations Council at its last meeting.

This required that if by July 25 the Conciliation Commission had not arrived at a satisfactory conclusion or agreed on the appointment of a neutral chairman, the League should appoint its own arbitrator; and that then, if a settlement were not reached under arbitration by August 25, the matter should come before the League.

The breakdown in the negotiations (says Reuter's Rome correspondent) might seem the logical moment for Italy to begin military operations, and there is certainly a desire in some quarters to start them before August 25

Italy, however, is unlikely to start fighting until she has an army of a quarter of a million men. At present she is estimated to have about 150,000 in the adjoining colonies, including native troops, although it is difficult to ascertain accurate figures. She is also anxious about water supplies and commissariats, which still need considerable improvement. The rainy season does not end until September, and until then advance through almost trackless country would be difficult.

SIGNOR MUSSOLINI'S MOTIVES

From our Geneva Correspondent

In League quarters it is thought that Italy will certainly leave the League if any attempt is made to assert the League's authority over the Abyssinian dispute and that there is no chance of any sanctions against Italy, whatever Signor Mussolini may do.

According to information which reaches me from excellent sources, the young Fascists in Italy who have grown up under the present regime are enthusiastically in favour of war against Abyssinia, and the rest of the population, although for the most part they dislike the adventure, will fall into line without difficulty. The Fascist regime is not, my informants think, in danger, unless, of course, Italy should be defeated in the war, in which case anything might happen.

The moral of the Italian troops in Africa has suffered severely from the long inaction in unpleasant climatic and other conditions, and this may give Signor Mussolini a motive for acting quickly. My informants have no doubt that he is determined to acquire a North African empire, and to make Abyssinia an Italian Morocco. He hopes to settle about 3,000,000 Italians in that country and thus diminish the overpopulation of Italy.

Nobody is able to give any information about Signor Mussolini's future policy on Austria or on the other European questions. The general impression in Rome, I understand, is that he is leaving European questions out of account, being for the moment, at any rate, not interested in them.

UPPER NILE DAM SCHEME POSTPONED

In answer to a question in the House of Commons on Tuesday, Mr. Eden, who replied, said that, though on May 10 the Abyssinian Government invited his Majesty's Government and the Governments of Egypt and the Sudan to send representatives to a conference at Addis Ababa with the object of concluding an agreement on a concession for a dam at Lake Tana, his Majesty's Government did not wish to take any step which might aggravate the present unfortunate controversy between Italy and Abyssinia at a moment when they were using their best endeavours to secure a solution.

They had therefore informed the Abyssinian Government that they favoured postponement.

The British Government were fully mindful of the interests of Egypt and the Sudan in the upper basin of the Nile. These interests had, however, been recognised in the past both by the Abyssinian Government and by the Governments of France and Italy. His Majesty's Government were therefore content to await a more suitable moment before pressing forward with this scheme.

FRENCH CRITICISMS OF BRITISH POLICY

From our Paris Correspondent

The view is expressed in French official quarters that Signor Mussolini has really no desire to start a large-scale war in Abyssinia, but that he must be forced to do so for the sake of his own prestige if, instead of treating him gently, there is talk of international sanctions.

These "threats" are regarded as the most dangerous thing in the world, for they are a challenge to Italy's Chauvinist instincts. If France and Britain stood aside for a little and gave the Italians the impression that they had scored a great diplomatic success, and that Abyssinia was at their mercy, Signor Mussolini would be only too glad to avail himself of Britain's "friendly mediation"—provided, of course, it did not consist in the first place in offering a seaport to Abyssinia.

Thus the two fundamental French criticisms are—

1. That in trying to influence Mussolini the British Government is making no allowance for the peculiar psychological atmosphere in which the Fascist dictatorship has to work—an atmosphere in which the problem of saving appearances and of presenting diplomatic failures as diplomatic victories is of the utmost importance, and

2. That the League of Nations, which is essential to the organisation of peace in Europe, is not worth sacrificing for the sake of Abyssinia, which, from the official French point of view, is a tenth-rate problem compared with the enormous problems of European security.

Moreover, it is suggested in Paris that Britain is much more concerned about the Upper Nile than about the authority of the League of Nations (an authority which she has not always upheld with the same determination) and that it is "unfair" to drag the League into this "tenth-rate" dispute.

Our Diplomatic correspondent writes:

Although it seems likely that the Italians will invade Abyssinia in the autumn, the hope that there may yet be a compromise has not been abandoned altogether. Mussolini's defiant words of Saturday were meant for foreign consumption, seeing that they were not reproduced in the Italian newspapers. This circumstance is interpreted as meaning that Mussolini is not committing himself so irrevocably as he would seem to indicate, for whereas he cannot climb down in the eyes of his own people, he can, if it is absolutely necessary, climb down in the eyes of the outside world.

Can Abyssinia be induced to climb down? She has already shown herself willing to go as far as is compatible with her independence, which, since she has been a member of the League, is guaranteed under the Covenant. All the indications are that she will climb down no farther, and whatever doubt the Emperor Selassie may have as to the outcome of a war with Italy some at least of the rases or feudal chieftains are spoiling for a fight.

ITALY'S IRREVOCABLE DECISION

Signor Mussolini, in reviewing a company of departing Blackshirts said (according to Reuter's report)

> We have entered upon a struggle which we as a Government and a revolutionary people have irrevocably decided to carry to its conclusion.
>
> Remember that black troops have always been defeated by Italians, except at Adowa, which, owing to the enormous difference in the proportion of forces 14,000 Italians against 100,000 Abyssinians was a glorious object of Italian heroism Remember that Adowa was retaken after a day of misfortunes and then again abandoned only because Italy had an abject Government which was much more occupied with Parliamentary bickerings than with the valour of her troops. All Italy is now behind her sons who are leaving for Africa. Italians prefer a life of heroism to one that is insipid.

Macon Telegraph

Opinion Hardens Against Il Duce

Macon Ga.

7-20-35

The flaming appeal of Haile Selassie, emperor of Ethiopia, before his parliament for whole-hearted and patriotic support in the critical hours which lie ahead evidently stirred his people to a fervor such as promises a fight to the death.

The world has been waiting anxiously for the hour when the emperor would call for mobilization of his army. Those who know the fiery temper of his people have feared that if he once issued this call, the excitable tribesmen would regard it as a declaration of war. They are not familiar with the finer points which precede hostilities. It was feared that they would break out in a berserker rage against Italians across the border in Eritrea and Italian Somaliland if they were not immediately led to battle. They would feel that it was a mark of cowardice on the part of their leader.

How far they regard the emperor's speech in parliament as a mobilization order or how far they regard that as equivalent to a declaration of war does not yet appear. It is highly important to note, however, that racial and religious prejudices apparently have been swept away. The Mohammedan chief of the tribes in the province of Ogaden, speaking in Arabic, pledged his own loyalty and that of his people in the approaching fight. It is well known that the ruling house of Ethiopia to all considerations of patriotism. Solomon and the claims descent from King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. A majority of the people accepted a crude form of Christianity more than 1,500 years ago and are proud that they have been broken. At the same time there are many tribesmen of the Arabic race and Mohammedan faith in the borders of Ethiopia and it would not have been improbable to find racial and religious fanaticism rising superior to all considerations of patriotism. In the face of a common enemy these differences have been forgotten. There must have been a touching scene when the members of parliament and the chief of the tribes literally broke down and wept as their emperor pledged that he would die at the head

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They had therefore informed the Abyssinian Government that they favoured postponement.

The British Government were fully mindful of the interests of Egypt and the Sudan in the upper basin of the Nile. These interests had, however, been recognised in the past both by the Abyssinian Government and by the Governments of France and Italy. His Majesty's Government were therefore content to await a more suitable moment before pressing forward with this scheme.

FRENCH CRITICISMS OF BRITISH POLICY

From our Paris Correspondent

The view is expressed in French official quarters that Signor Mussolini has really no desire to start a large-scale war in Abyssinia, but that he must be forced to do so for the sake of his own prestige if, instead of treating him gently, there is talk of international sanctions.

These "threats" are regarded as the most dangerous thing in the world, for they are a challenge to Italy's Chauvinist instincts. If France and Britain stood aside for a little and gave the Italians the impression that they had scored a great diplomatic success, and that Abyssinia was at their mercy, Signor Mussolini would be only too glad to avail himself of Britain's "friendly mediation"—provided, of course, it did not consist in the first place in offering a seaport to Abyssinia.

Thus the two fundamental French criticisms are—

1. That in trying to influence Mussolini the British Government is making no allowance for the peculiar psychological atmosphere in which the Fascist dictatorship has to work—an atmosphere in which the problem of saving appearances and of presenting diplomatic failures as diplomatic victories is of the utmost importance, and

2. That the League of Nations, which is essential to the organisation of peace in Europe, is not worth sacrificing for the sake of Abyssinia, which, from the official French point of view, is a tenth-rate problem compared with the enormous problems of European security.

Moreover, it is suggested in Paris that Britain is much more concerned about the Upper Nile than about the authority of the League of Nations (an authority which she has not always upheld with the same determination) and that it is "unfair" to drag the League into this "tenth-rate" dispute.

Our Diplomatic correspondent writes:

Although it seems likely that the Italians will invade Abyssinia in the autumn, the hope that there may yet be a compromise has not been abandoned altogether. Mussolini's defiant words of Saturday were meant for foreign consumption, seeing that they were not reproduced in the Italian newspapers. This circumstance is interpreted as meaning that Mussolini is not committing himself so irrevocably as he would seem to indicate, for whereas he cannot climb down in the eyes of his own people, he can, if it is absolutely necessary, climb down in the eyes of the outside world.

Can Abyssinia be induced to climb down? She has already shown herself willing to go as far as is compatible with her independence, which, since she has been a member of the League, is guaranteed under the Covenant. All the indications are that she will climb down no farther, and whatever doubt the Emperor Selassie may have as to the outcome of a war with Italy some at least of the rases or feudal chieftains are spoiling for a fight.

ITALY'S IRREVOCABLE DECISION

Signor Mussolini, in reviewing a company of departing Blackshirts said (according to Reuter's report)

We have entered upon a struggle which we as a Government and a revolutionary people have irrevocably decided to carry to its conclusion.

Remember that black troops have always been defeated by Italians, except at Adowa, which, owing to the enormous difference in the proportion of forces 14,000 Italians against 100,000 Abyssinians was a glorious object of Italian heroism Remember that Adowa was retaken after a day of misfortunes and then again abandoned only because Italy had an abject Government which was much more occupied with Parliamentary bickerings than with the valour of her troops. All Italy is now behind her sons who are leaving for Africa. Italians prefer a life of heroism to one that is insipid.

Macon Telegraph

Opinion Hardens Against Il Duce

Macon

7-20-35

The flaming appeal of Haile Selassie, emperor of Ethiopia, before his parliament for whole-hearted and patriotic support in the critical hours which lie ahead evidently stirred his people to a fervor such as promises a fight to the death.

The world has been waiting anxiously for the hour when the emperor would call for mobilization of his army. Those who know the fiery temper of his people have feared that if he once issued this call, the excitable tribesmen would regard it as a declaration of war. They are not familiar with the finer points which precede hostilities. It was feared that they would break out in a berserker rage against Italians across the border in Eritrea and Italian Somaliland if they were not immediately led to battle. They would feel that it was a mark of cowardice on the part of their leader.

How far they regard the emperor's speech in parliament as a mobilization order or how far they regard that as equivalent to a declaration of war does not yet appear. It is highly important to note, however, that racial and religious prejudices apparently have been swept away. The Mohammedan chief of the Arabic race and Mohammedan, speaking in the province of Ogaden, spoke of Ethiopia to all considerations of patriotism. tribesmen of the Arabic race and Mohammedan and the Christianity more than 1,500 years ago and are proud that they literally broke down and wept as their emperor pledged that he would die at the head of his people in the approaching fight. In the face of a common enemy these differences have been forgotten. There must have been a touching scene when the members of parliament and the chief of the tribes pledged his own loyalty and that of the people accepted a crude form of Christianity and the ruling house of Solomon claims descent from King Solomon and Queen of Sheba. A majority of the tribes known that the Christian heritage unbroken. At the same time there are many tribes would not have been improbable to find

of his armies before he would surrender to the forces of Mussolini. Patriotic fervor like that is bound to find expression in savage warfare when the opposing forces come to grips, as they almost certainly will when the rainy season has ended in September.

Many warnings have been given Mussolini that he is entering upon a perilous enterprise. In the first place, in spite of his propaganda about atrocities, he has aroused the moral indignation of the world against this unprovoked attack upon a peaceful people. This hostile opinion will be felt by Italy with increasing force as the days go by.

The Duce has also been warned that the discipline of his Black Shirts and the up-to-dateness of his military equipment may avail him little when he undertakes to conquer 1 million fighting men, scattered over a large area which is broken up with towering mountains and seamed with gorges down which flow unfettered cataracts. By separating into small bands and refusing ever to fight a pitched battle in the open, the Ethiopian troops might easily annihilate the 250 thousand Italians as inevitably, if not as dramatically, as the 30 thousand troops were slaughtered, piece-meal, or starved to death, 39 years ago at Adawa.

In his speech before parliament the emperor revealed for the first time that he had accepted the British offer to give Ethiopia a strip of land affording access to the sea if Ethiopia, in turn, would make certain concessions to Italy. Mussolini rejected this offer with scorn when it was presented by Capt. Anthony Eden, British emissary, a few weeks ago.

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Furthermore, it was understood, the council resolution will not directly refer to these political negotiations. If this proves to be true, Mussolini has succeeded in divorcing the projected negotiations from the League of Nations, it was pointed out.

It was understood also the draft calls for a resumption of arbitration, makes allusion to the Italo-Ethiopian treaty which pledges non-resort to force, and stipulates that the League continue to keep the conflict on its agenda for examination in September.

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Earlier in the day some quarters had said confidence in efficacy of the League of Nations Council's peace efforts had been shaken, but the possibility of war was being openly discussed in this lofty, sun-baked city, capital of an ancient empire proud of its centuries of independence.

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He cordially welcomed the United States to the ranks of nations striving for peace.

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It was of no avail. Il Duce stood firm. He did not want, he explained, the clause involving pledges against war. He did not like linking of peace efforts to the league council, nor did he fancy having Italians sit down at the council table with Ethiopians as equals, the latter on the grounds that Ethiopia did not sign the 1906 treaty.

Notwithstanding Mussolini's attitude, league circles tonight said they believed Britain's determined stand for peace sooner or later would shake Mussolini, and cause him to accept minimum proposals to avert war in Africa.

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Mass recruiting, however, began at noon shortly after new troops, arriving from distant mountain and desert strongholds, passed in review before the emperor. The military parade fired patriotic fervor to new heights.

While thousands of able-bodied Ethiopian males rushed to enlist, women continued their demands that they be allowed to bear arms for their country.

Denied that right, they met in the palace hall, formed "the association for the defense of the country," started raising funds, and subscribed $30,000 within an hour. Mohammedan women contributed alike with Christians.

After electing Princess Shoaragga their president, the women passed resolutions urging their husbands, fathers, sons, and sweethearts to join the army and calling for immediate action, instead of words.

A leader of the movement was Princess Tsahay, the emperor's daughter. Another was Princess Yeshashwork, his niece, and the wife of Ras Gurka, hereditary governor of Tigre Province, where first fighting between Italy and Ethiopia probably would occur.

There was no indication Haile Selas-

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Race Problem – 1935

Africa

Abyssinia

Picture of Bloodthirsty Italy And Praying, Pleading Ethiopia

Macon Telegraph

Mason No.

7-11-35

By EUGENE ANDERSON

The little Ethiopian Negro is on his knees praying to God and pleading to man to keep booming, blustering Italy from killing him and taking his country.

The world powers are vainly interceding, offering every kind of settlement to bloodthirsty Mussolini.

The board of arbitration is in session, but Mussolini says that all heaven and earth cannot keep Italy from fulfilling her destiny. He is a born ruler, he thinks, and born rulers must rule. "Another great page in Italian heroism is about to be written," he tells his soldiers, and they shout in their mad enthusiasm. "Italians of today prefer a heroic life to a useless one," he shouts, and they shout back in approval.

"Italy's soldiers have always easily triumphed over black adversaries," he assures the Italians; and then he remember Adowa. There 14,000 Italians were annihilated by the Ethiopians. But 100,000 Ethiopians opposed the 14,000 Italians, he says; and the Italian Government at that time was far more interested in parliamentary intrigue than in its soldiers. Just what he means he does not explain, but as he holds six portfolios of the Italian cabinet, it is assumed that he means he is now the Italian Government, and he wants to show himself worthy of Rome's ancient history. He chooses this time and place, and the little black man as his first victims. A Negro, Professor Rayford W. Logan of Atlanta University, addressing the New England Institute of International Relations at Wellesley College a few nights ago, gravely said: "I am afraid the defeat of Primo Carnero (Italian) by Joe Lewis (Negro) will be interpreted as an additional insult to the Italian flag, which will permit Mussolini to assert again the necessity for Italy to annihilate Ethiopia."

"But Mussolini his already found justification satisfactory to himself. Some of his border patrolmen were attacked by barefoot Ethiopian soldiers several months ago. Emperor Haile Selassie, more Jew than Negro, but claiming lineage from King Solomon, offered all sorts of amends. Other nations offered to help the emperor appease the Italian successor of the Caesars, but Mussolini says the whole world must bow to the fascist spirit of inflexibility. Nothing can stop him.

He thought up another excuse, in the face of the world opposition: Ethiopia must be civilized. It must be developed so it can need and buy Italy's goods. Then he gets big-hearted, and says it must buy world goods. The Ethiopians don't need shoes now. Even the soldiers for the most part go barefoot. They must be civilized. Another complaint of Mussolini is that Ethiopia has not freed her slaves.

"Well," says Emperor Selassie, as he arises from prayer, "I am going into the field at the head of my army, and I am taking the Ark of the Covenant with me."

Then, with a chuckle, he says: "I don't expect to meet Mussolini on the field of battle." He didn't mean that he would run if Mussolini came. Mussolini, he thinks, is not coming.

But Mussolini is sending two of his own sons They go as aviators, one of them almost a babe. But even that won't terrorize the Ethiopians. They are brave and fierce fighters. They have been bombed, and they held their ground. They have good woods from which to fight. They still wear leather shields, and use the rifles that were salvaged from the Franco-Prussian war. But that's what they used when they annihilated the army of the Italians at Adowa.

Great Britain proposed to cede its Ethiopian territory to Mussolini if instead of waging war, he would submit to arbitration. A member of parliament grew facetious, and said, "Why not give him the Irish Free State." Britain is willing to give Ethiopia or Italy anything it has down there.

But Mussolini answers all nations with this: Nations like Ethiopia must be developed. What does it accomplish to manufacture goods if we have no markets for them?

The implication is plain. Mussolini wants more territory. Will he be satisfied if he can subjugate Ethiopia, while a war-weary world looks on helpless and submissive? The policeman is asleep on his beat while the highwayman is abroad.

American missionaries have been requested to leave. They are not so inclined.

They want to take their chances. But it will be a race war, the fiercest kind. The aroused Ethiopian will see only the white skin. He won't be able to determine what the white skin means, except that it represents the enemy invading his country. The number of missionaries is 113 out of 125 Americans.. Seventh Day Adventists are there, with headquarters at Tacoma Park, Maryland; the Soudan Frontier Mission with headquarters at Brooklyn has some workers there; and the Women's General Missionary Society of the United Presbyterian Church of America, with headquarters at Pittsburg, are the only organizations mentioned.

Final summing up: Mussolini claims he is taking 130,000 white Italian soldiers to emancipate Negro slaves from a Negro nation that he would civilize in Africa. And it will be a race war. The black will seek to slay the white man, and the white man will seek to slay the black man, for the sake of black slaves, and through hope of gaining markets.

And the World War was a war to end wars.

British Offer To Give Ethiopia Territory In Africa Irks Commons

Montgomery Advertiser

Montgomery Ala.

7-5-35

LONDON, July 1.—(AP)—Government opponents raised a short storm in the House of Commons when it was disclosed today Great Britain had offered to hand over a strip of its territory to Ethiopia in an effort to avert a war between Italy and the African kingdom.

Capt. Anthony Eden, diplomat who just returned from fruitless conversations with Benito Mussolini, explained the offer to cede the land. He said Il Duce had turned trumbs down upon the proposal.

The idea was for Britain to give Ethiopia a seaport in British Somaliland and the latter was to make concessions which would satisfy Il Duce and make him call off his warlike preparations.

Opposition leaders immediately demanded to know if the House would be consulted before British territory was given to foreign powers. Bluntly, Sir Samuel Hoare, foreign secretary, replied: "The Commons must trust the executive department in these matters; if it is not prepared to trust the government, the whole basis of government is destroyed."

PARIS DENIES PACT TO AID MUSSOLINI IN ETHIOPIAN RIFT

Constitution Advertiser Montgomery Ala.

7-5-35

France Cannot Afford To Alienate British, Upon Whom She Depends for Nazi Threat Protection.

PARIS, July 5.—(AP)—France, though she has political stakes in the Italo-Ethiopian dispute and the monarchy issue in Austria, was keeping out of both problems tonight in the hope they would settle themselves sooner or later.

The African crisis, and its potential effects upon relations between Great Britain and Italy, puts France squarely "on the spot," for she fears she will need both England and Italy in handling the German problem.

A defender of the League of Nations and signatory of the tri-power treaty guaranteeing Ethiopia's territorial integrity, France feels that the issue is one for the League of Nations to handle. Yet she hesitates to take the initiative at Geneva, fearing Benito Mussolini may bolt the League.

In any case, officials said, France refuses to join Britain now in any sanctions against Italy to avert war, though what she may do in the future has not been determined. France "does not intend to jeopardize present good relations" by antagonizing Italy, one official said, though he characterized as silly reports of an Italo-French military alliance secretly concluded.

As for Austria's action in deciding to return expropriated properties of the Hapsburg dynasty, the French authorities are represented as believing Mussolini will be tolerant toward it in the hope that a quieter Austria may let him neglect that frontier and concentrate on Ethiopia.

The Little Entente has always said "Hapsburgs mean war," but France is hoping the question of restoring the monarchy, which might force her to choose between Italy and the Little Entente, will not be raised soon.

The French also are apprehensive lest Austria's relaxation of the Hapsburg bans endanger negotiations with the Little Entente for Danubian pact.

Ethiopia Invites U. S. To Make Italy Keep Pact

Montgomery Advertiser Montgomery Ala.

7-5-35

Addresses Formal Request To America To Enforce Kellogg Anti War Treaty

Battle On Frontier

European Munition Plants Start Cancelling Orders Sent From Addis Ababa

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ADDIS ABABA, July 4.—(AP)—Ethiopia chose America's Independence Day today

to ask the United States to find some way to make Italy observe her obligations under the Kellogg pact, by which she renounced war as an instrument of national policy.

A five-page note delivered to William Perry George, United States charge d'affaires here, outlined the development of the Italo-Ethiopian controversy and reasserted Ethiopia's contention that Italy had warlike intentions aimed at the conquest of the African empire.

The massing of men and munitions in Italy's African colonies, the note contended, indicates that Ethiopia's independence is threatened.

(Under the Kellogg-Briand pact, properly called "the general pact for the renunciation of war," the United States, Germany, Belgium, France, Great Britain and her dominions, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Poland and Czechoslovakia renounced war as an instrument of national policy and agreed that disputes among them should be settled by pacific means. It was signed at Paris, Aug. 27, 1928.)

Delivery of the note to the American representative came shortly after the emperor, in a statement to The Associated Press, insisted that Ethiopia did not want war with Italy but would do her duty in case of armed conflict.

Battle Rumored.

A rumored battle between Italian and Ethiopian frontier forces, in which casualties were reported to have been heavy, remained without confirmation.

Meanwhile, authorities here revealed that Ethiopia was having trouble getting munitions from European exporters, Belgium assertedly having embargoed 7,500,000 cartridges after 2,500,000 of an order for 10,000,000 had been shipped.

The great Skoda Works, of Czechoslovakia, also refused to deliver artillery after accepting orders from Addis Ababa, it was said, while French manufacturers likewise were deaf to appeals from this country.

Emperor Haile Selassie already had taken the necessary precautions to safeguard the lives and property of foreigners in case of war.

Questioned concerning this, the emperor said:

"We have always appropriately assured the safety, lives and property of all the population of our country, without distinction as to race and nationality, and we shall do likewise in case of hostilities."

A few unsubstantiated details of yesterday's reported border clash reached Addis Ababa, although official confirmation of the fact that the battle had occurred still was lacking.

These unsupported rumors said the Italians crossed the Eritrean border and were ordered to withdraw by Dejaz Ayale, provincial governor entrusted with frontier defense. When the Italians refused, fighting began and the invaders were driven back.

dence-Day appeal for this country to invoke the Kellogg-Briand Pact to outlaw war, concededly held potentialities for involving the United States in a touchy situation.

State Department officials reported late today they had not yet received official word of the note handed to William Perry George, the American charge d'affaires at Addis Ababa. One communications officer held its arrival unlikely before tomorrow.

On these grounds, Secretary Hull and other American officials declined any comment on what, if any, action might be taken by the United States.

AN EMPEROR'S DEFENSE

The article written by Emperor Haile Selassie, of Ethiopia, for the Associated Press which appeared in The Advertiser yesterday, is an unusual document.

It is impressive in that it is an example of the possibilities which man's mechanical advances have brought. A ruler of one nation writes a defense of his country's attitude one afternoon and hands it to a correspondent. The next morning as many of 125,000,000 people living in a distant land who are so inclined may read it.

The incident is disheartening in that it is a reminder that there are at present a great majority of the people of the world who are denied the privilege of reading Emperor Haile Selassie's statement. Of the great nations of the world, only in the United States and Great Britain is it likely that his words will be read.

In Italy, whose people will soon go to war against Ethiopia, no newspaper will carry the text of the message. An Italian, Marconi, through his invention of the wireless, made it possible for the words of the Emperor to be flashed around the world, but no Italian has as yet risen to make it possible for his fellow-countrymen to read the words unhampered.

Who can say that if every Italian could read the words of his enemy it would not have an effect in leading to an understanding which would bring peace? Peace is dependent upon understanding more than any other circumstance.

Mussolini, once having determined on a course of war, will stop at nothing, it appears. He has let it be known, and since he controls all means of moulding public opinion his countrymen hold the same view, that he will withdraw from the League of Nations if necessary to gain his end.

On the other hand in England where the people are allowed freedom to form their own opinions, a recent straw vote was taken in which 11,090,387 individuals favored continued adherence to the League, while only 355,883 were opposed. On the same ballot 9,533,558 favored all-around abolition of military and naval aircraft by international agreement, with 1,689,786 against.

This vote can be considered a cross-section of the mass of opinion in England. On a comparative basis it is equal to 30,000,000 votes in the United States, which is only a little short of a normal presidential vote.

Is the British vote an indication that the great masses of people throughout the world are being led astray by their leaders, that if given their right to speak the overwhelming majority of the people of the world would be opposed not only to war, but to all armaments?

But in Italy the people have not been given the privilege of deciding the issue for themselves. Only the seasonal rains, which end in September, are delaying war.

The Ethiopian Emperor writes:

"Ethiopia is independent and will remain so. It refuses to consider the loss of its independence."

The proposition put to Americans on July 4, will cause them to wonder if Italy, which bases its action in the name of civilization, is justified. Is a system which denies freedom and independence civilization?

Emperor Haile Selassie continues:

"It seems that soon we shall be obliged to suspend our activity for the economic and social development of our people, which already has been obstructed by world depression, to turn all our energy and resources to resist the will of Italy to destroy our independence and seize by violence our territory, contrary to international law and its own engagements as a member of the League and a signatory of the Kellogg pct."

It is not a pleasant picture to contemplate.

HELPING ETHIOPIA

Aframerica has broken out with a rash of proposals to help Ethiopia in her present extremity. As usual, most of the proposals are without merit and merely furnish an opportunity for chronic organizers and problem-solvers to collect cash and kudos.

Resolutions and petitions showered upon the League of Nations, the British Foreign Office, Mussolini and our own State Department are valuable solely as a method of blowing off steam, although they do help the postoffice department reduce its deficit.

Sending an Aframerican Expeditionary Force to Ethiopia, assuming the money for passage and equipment could be secured from a people who give but $50,000 yearly to fight for their citizenship rights, would prove almost as embarrassing as the Italian army to Haile Selassie. There is scarcely enough food in Abyssinia to supply its own army, while ammunition and clothing are scarce, to say nothing of shoes.

What Ethiopia needs is money, of which she has almost none. With money Ethiopia can get all of the munitions of war she needs, despite all talk of certain nations not selling them to her. Without money she is at the mercy of a great armed nation with every implement of war and ample merchant marine to transport them to the seat of war.

Aframerica can help Ethiopia by sending her money for war munitions, as Chinese the world over sent money to Shanghai for its defense against the Japanese invaders, or it can buy the munitions and arrange to send them to her. It might be a beautiful fraternal gesture for colored people here to send over several up-to-date bombing planes with which to annoy the reluctant warriors of Il Duce.

But Aframerica has a war on its own hands—a war that has been going on for generations. It is a war against discrimination, segregation, disfranchisement, illiteracy, ignorance, shiftlessness, peonage, ruthless exploitation, bad housing and bad health. It needs every dollar it can spare in this war right here.

The cost of a good (sic) machine gun delivered in Abyssinia will pay a youngster's tuition in a good college for a year. The price paid for a piece of light artillery will send some bright young colored lad through the Massachusetts Institute of Technology or Howard Medical School. The purchase and equipment of a Douglas bomber will build 1,000 playgrounds with swimming pools. The price of one good-sized airplane bomb will win a school segregation case in the courts or snatch some innocent Negro from the shadow of the electric chair.

Whatever may be the outcome of the impending war in East Africa, our war will still continue in the United States. Much as we all sympathize with Ethiopia, it is evident that our burdens here are sufficiently heavy without assuming those of Negroes over 7,000 miles away. It is noteworthy that, while our disabilities have been fairly well publicized throughout the world since Emancipation, no aid has ever come from our brethren across the seas. We have fought our battle alone and they will have to do likewise.

Abyssinia

Race Problem - 1935

Africa

IT MAY NOT BE MUCH OF A RING FIGHT, BUT IT'S CERTAINLY A QUARRELSOME AUDIENCE.



Reminder 12-27-35 Rumor Ch. Mar.

ENEMY BOMBERS UNABLE TO FIND SELASSIE TROOPS

Pittsburgh Courier

Pittsburgh, Penna.

12-21-35

From where we sit, it looks as though the war will drag on interminably.

Rogers Ridicules Pitiful Efforts of Il Duce's "Great Army" to Defeat Ethiopia—Tells How Heat, Thirst, Insects Have Played Havoc.

By J. A. ROGERS
Courier War Correspondent

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ADDIS ABABA, Dec. 16—Italy's "war of conquest" is a colossal flop!

Here in this war-torn capital of a black nation comes definite word that the highly "man-powered" and "machine-powered" war machine of Il Duce has been halted . . . stopped . . . effectually checked.

Planes Bombing Rocks

Italy is face to face with economic tragedy. The enormous cost of operations, added to the danger in reaching strategic points and returning to their original bases, has taken its toll on the Italian invaders.

Italian bombing planes have met no resistance in the air, but Mussolini's famed "flying squadrons" have dropped thousands of dollars worth of costly bombs on nothing but desert rocks, bushes, non-combatants and hospitals.

Heat, Thirst, Insects

Heat, thirst and insects . . . Nature's Foes . . . are daily taking a heavy toll and wreaking havoc in the Italian ranks. Thousands of these men have been either buried on the sandy wastes of this little nation, or have been sent back to their homeland . . . mere shells of their former selves.

In addition, torrential rains . . . something unheard of previously at this time of the year . . . have been adding to the unrest and discomfort of the invading troops. A stupendous road-making program, which has kept the Italian army from advancing any faster than 20 miles per week, has been practically ruined by these rains . . . with the subsequent danger of loss of communications from the front and rear.

Italy's "Mental Terror"

Italy is faced with a "mental terror" which is having a deadly effect on the morale of the troops.

Ethiopian warriors, resorting to guerilla tactics, have harassed the line of communications to such an extent that most anything is looked for nightly.

These warriors, creeping down on unsuspecting troops in the dead of night, strike with viciousness, leaving dead, wounded and mutilated men in their wake. Pursuit is impossible and there is no retaliation because the guerillas melt into the blackness of the night and steal away leaving no marks.

Peace Plan Rejected

The peace plan projected by England and France, which would cede Italy practically half of Ethiopia, was decisively turned down by Emperor Haile Selassie last week.

"Ethiopia will never forfeit a foot of her ground to an invading nation," the Emperor said.

Food for Ethiopian troops is plentiful, while the Italians are finding it hard to keep the huge supply necessary to feed her vast army unspoiled.

Macon, Ga., Telegraph
December 20, 1935

Negro Slavery and Ethiopia

The Japanese have been charged with seeking to make the "colored people" of the world regard the Ethiopian troubles as racial as a row between the white race and the yellow, the brown and black.

The principal and most reasonable excuse the Italian Mussolini has given for his planned aggression into Ethiopia is that he intends to civilize Ethiopia and abolish Negro slavery there. Before Ethiopia could become a member of the League of Nations Emperor Selassie had to agree to end slavery in his country. Mussolini proceeds on the idea that Selassie has failed to keep this promise. So Mussolini goes down there in the role of slave emancipator.

The books that give the history of the Ethiopians are responsible for the statement that the ruling classes are Semitic, that Selassie himself does not admit that he is of Negro stock. His country is said to have been the very worst of modern day slave traders or slave conquerors. Wherever a tribe or group of Negoes could be captured they were taken into slavery, with its worst forms and customs.

The more "civilized" countries of the world have been turning against slavery since the beginning of the eighteenth century, and as they did so they became more and more sympathetic with the democratic idea that the weak should be protected against the strong that one man should not become the owner of another man. The more backward countries have not found this viewpoint in government They still cling to the idea of caste, and think the weaker should be made to work for the stronger. The Ethiopians have the sympathy of the entire civilized world in their effort to protect themselves against Mussolini's mad plans. The white man is just as much opposed to wars of conquest as any of the colored races could be, and he condemns what Mussolini is doing. He can't see any justification for it, having no faith in the claim that it is necessary for Italy to whip Ethiopia to stop slavery.

The Carnegia Peace Foundation quotes some of the world's leading men in statements that no greater crime could be committed than to take up arms over a matter that can be settled by arbitration. And the world has certainly been trying to make Mussolini listen to reason. But he has taken the insane idea that he can make history for his nation, and he wants to show how he can fight.

The League of Nations has been slow to exercise its power, and it is leaving little Ethiopia running all over the world trying to find somebody to lend her a gun.

But the most incongruous thing that appears in the whole absurd though tragic situation is the attitude of the American Negroes who want to go and help Ethiopia. It is quite evident they do not know the Ethiopians' part in the history of Negro slavery.

Race Problem-1935

Africa

Abyssinia.

Ruminations

—By J. A. ROGERS—

Stranded Foreigners In Abyssinia.

FROM FAR-OFF Ethiopia comes an appeal on behalf of stranded Afro-Britons and West Indians who migrated there after the 1930 coronation. These adventurers were led thither by racial patriotic motives, and that they should have gone at all will seem stupid to most of us. To the calm logical stay-at-homes migration to unknown countries has always seemed foolhardy. But it is to this spirit of adventure that North and South America owe their present development.

Innumerable were the colonizing ventures to the New World that failed. But whether these colored folk were wise or foolish in going to Abyssinia, the fact before us really is that they are in need and should be helped, and that quickly.

Funds for this purpose should be sent to Mr. Addison E. Southard, the American minister, whose address is "The American Legation, Addis-Ababa, Ethiopia."

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Genial Envoy.

AMERICAN CONSULATES have the reputation of being neglectful of American citizens. The theory is that Americans who fall into distress abroad deserve it. Why didn't they stay at home? Had that policy been followed there would have been no United States at all. Mr. Southard, we are happy to say, however, is a distinct exception. To the visiting Americans at the 1930 coronation at Addis-Ababa he was more than an American minister. He was a host, and all were very warm in praise of him.

These, of course, were white people, but in my case, also, he made not the slightest exception. He sent me invitations to all the functions held at the legation, presented me to the leading Ethiopian and European dignitaries, got me the necessary passes to all the affairs, and did for me what he generally did for every one else. Mr. Southard is a white Kentuckian, genial and friendly, and the type that we all hope will predominate in the South some day. Mr. Robert L. Park, the consul, who, with Mr. Southard, is looking after these stranded colored folk, is the same excellent kind of official.

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No Funds Provided.

THE UNITED STATES government provides no fund for aid of needy Americans abroad. The Emperor and Empress of Abyssinia are kind and affable and live up to the highest traditions of African hospitality. But they are already charged with their own numerous poor. Therefore, it is up to us to help.

The attention of missionary societies, who send money to Africa for the preaching of the gospel, is especially called to this case. Lodges and Sunday school societies will do a very worthy deed in aiding. All subscriptions, however small, should be sent by registered mail direct to Addis-Ababa. Those wishing more detailed information quickly may write to Mrs. Hattie Edwards-Koffie, 175 North Monroe avenue, Columbus, Ohio. Mrs. Koffie was engaged in social service in Abyssinia until recently.

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"Greatest Men."

FOR THE information of the many who have written or have come in person to the office of this newspaper to inquire for "The World's Greatest Men of African Descent," I am happy to say that it is again in print.

There have been several additions to this volume. There is the story of Imhotep, the real "Father of Medicine," who lived in Egypt 6,000 years ago, together with an ancient picture of him from the Cairo Museum. Another feature is a full-page reproduction of a photograph of the far-famed and very ancient Negro Madonna of Nuria, Spain, gorgeously crowned with the cross, the sun, and the twelve stars, holding the Black Christ. This has probably not been reproduced before in America. There are also the story and the picture of Ann Zingha, fiery West African Queen, who fought off the white slave-hunters; and a large picture of the life-mask of Beethoven at 42, that serves to clinch the statement that this greatest of all composers was of Negro descent. Copies may be had at the sales department of this paper.

Sons of Solomon at Bay

When Great Britain allowed herself to be drawn into a war against the Dutch colonists in South Africa—the most unpopular war she ever fought—she soon found that Oom Paul and his hardy forces had an advantage in the kind of fighting to which the country lent itself which cost thousands of British lives and millions of British pounds sterling before a doubtful victory was won.

Mussolini has proceeded merrily to call out 250,000 Italian reservists, who are now mobilizing in the various cities preparatory to an expedition to Italian Somaliland. To these will be added fifty airplanes, and within a short time we may expect active hostilities against Abyssinia, whose troops are charged with having made an attack upon Italy's native Somali troops along the border.

The king of Abyssinia and his charge d'affaires at Rome insist that it was their troops who were attacked by the Italian forces and that they will resist invasion to the death. The Abyssinian king insists that he has 80,000 troops ready to do battle in defense of their country and that he can raise 1,000,000 men with comparatively little delay.

At Rome it is said that Abyssinia cannot raise more than 200,000 troops, with eight airplanes of an inferior type to back them up, but when we think how Great Britain expected that expedition against the Boers to be a promenade, with victory at the end of a few weeks, we wonder if Mussolini may not also be mistaken as to how easily an Abyssinian army may be overwhelmed. The land which used to be known as Ethiopia, now ruled over by a king who claims direct descent from King Solomon, through Balkis, Queen of Sheba, is mountainous and irregular to an extreme degree. Within its confines is the true source of the Nile, and it was many a long year before Speake, stealing a march on Sir Richard Burton, discovered that source, in the last century. The hardiest adventurers have had difficulty in penetrating to the heart of that country, and for an Italian army, depending upon the ordinary tactics of European military movements, to overwhelm even 200,000 half-fanatical Abyssinians may prove to be a far harder job than is anticipated.

Abyssinia is an old and historic country, in which a form of Christianity has been preserved practically from the time of Christ. The rulers are proud of their descent from the Queen of Sheba and they will fight with all the courage of pride and desperation before they will surrender to Italy or any other country.

Abyssinia and Italy both belong to the League of Nations and it is possible that the differences may be settled before the Italian expeditionary forces get to Somaliland, but if this is not done Mussolini may be letting himself in for a real war.

NO INDEMNITY WILL BE PAID, ENVOY STATES

Punitive Expedition Will Sail Feb. 16 to Enforce Mussolini's Demand

ENGLAND HOPES FOR PEACE

African Troops Massed Along Border in Preparation for Italian Drive

By ANDRUE BERDING

(Copyright, 1935, by the A. P.)

ROME, Feb. 12 (AP)—Ethiopia's emperor, Haile Selassie, gave the lie direct to Benito Mussolini's bristling accusations against Ethiopia tonight as Rome and all Italy hummed with warlike preparations.

The emperor's statement, flatly denying Italy's charges that Ethiopians were the aggressors in recent African border clashes, was made through Negradas Yesus, Ethiopian charge d'affaires, who earlier said his government would not pay one cent of the indemnity demanded for Italians slain.

Italian official circles, quick to learn of the statement, said immediately the die had been cast. Ethiopia, they said, had flung down the gauntlet of resistance to the threat of the Italian troop mobilization.

It was freely stated that Italy would be expected to take decisive steps in the face of this challenge.

Accompanying Haile Selassie's statement were explicit instructions that it be given to Il Duce only after it has been given to the press of the world. The charge d'affaires will call on Mussolini tomorrow.

Mobilization Is Extended

Even as the Ethiopian charge announced his country could not accept Italy's "hard" demands for satisfaction and had 1,000,000 men ready to defend their land against invasion, Il Duce extended his mobilization to additional units.

Informed quarters said the Rome government was fully determined to settle its score with the African empire unless Addis Ababa furnishes satisfaction. A punitive expedition will sail from southern Italy and Sicily Feb. 16, these quarters said, to enforce Mussolini's demand that Ethiopia pay $44,900 in indemnities and furnish other satisfaction.

The cable Haile Selassie sent to Yesus said in straightforward language that the Ethiopian garrison at Gerlogubi, near where the latest Italo-Ethiopian clash occurred, had not at any time "made any sally or attempt against the Italian garrison at Afdub."

"The conflict Jan. 29 near Gerlugobi involved 25 Ethiopians, armed simply with rifles, who were suddenly attacked by an Italian band armed with machine guns after various reconnaissance flights by Italian airplanes above Gerlogubi," the emperor's statement said.

Other Charges Also Denied

The message also categorically denied there could have been any attempt by the Ethiopian garrison to surround Afdub, since that post was evacuated at the time the supposed attempt took place.

To the emperor's message the charge added his own opinion that Italian officials in Africa, probably without the consent or knowledge of the central government, were stirring up trouble among native tribesmen with the object of "putting Ethiopia in a bad light before the world."

Trains throughout Italy were crowded tonight with thousands of officers and men Mussolini and his war ministers have ordered to concentration points and officers so crowded Rome hotels that many American tourists went from one to another seeking rooms.

As the wide-flung mobilization — that may involve 250,000 men and upward—went forward, the nation was filled with rumors that some troops already had left for Somaliland and Eritrea despite an official statement to the contrary.

Reservists are Called Out

Throughout the day thousands of reservists listed as automobile men, mechanics, engineers, roadbuilders, radio operators, tank men and other specialists continued to receive curt printed notices from the war department to report for duty. The Associated Press learned of one mechanic 51 years old who received the summons.

At the same time Fascist militia began organizing special volunteer units to be sent to the colonies. A

body of 300 is going from Rome. That would mean around 10,000 from the whole kingdom.

Emperor Haile Selassie's statement emphasized that even during the period of the Italian evacuation of Afdub Ethiopian troops made no move to occupy the Italian post.

In vigorous side comment to his monarch's message, the outspoken charge d'affaires said: "I personally love Italy and I feel I represent the opinion of my countrymen when I say we want no conflict with this great nation.

"Campaign of Calumny"

"However, we cannot be expected to suffer in silence indefinitely. It has been apparent to Ethiopians for some time that the border incidents between the Italian native troops and our Ethiopian tribesmen have originated outside the desire of the Ethiopian people.

Also for months past there has been a campaign of calumny against Ethiopia. We want this campaign stopped, and although we don't want to fight we will do so if forced."

Over and over again Yesus reiterated: "We will not attack. We will never attack. However, in case of an attack we will resist."

In Italian official circles, where the emperor's message will become virtually an official challenge with its presentation to the Italian government tomorrow, the reaction was that the gauntlet had been flung down.

This was strengthened by Yesus. reiteration that Ethiopia felt herself justified in categorically refusing to consider the question of paying reparations for the dead troopers who lost their lives in an attack made by Italians on Ethiopian troops, or in accepting other demands.

Demands are Summarized

Those demands—which Negradas Yesus said Ethiopia would not accept without modification, were authoritatively reported to include:

1. A salute to the Italian flag at Addis Ababa.

2. A neutralized zone along the frontiers of Eritrea and Italian Somaliland, Italy's African colonies which border Ethiopia, from which all Ethiopian troops would be withdrawn.

3. Final delimitation of the borders.

4. Tighter control by Emperor Haile Selassie's government over the roving, warlike border tribes, particularly in the neighborhood of the disputed city of Ualual, where two separate clashes have resulted in the death of 35 Italians and the wounding of 66.

Million Ethiopians Ready

As orders for the mobilization of all Italy's manpower and wealth flowed ceaselessly from Il Duce's three war ministries, the Ethiopian charge d'affaires told the Associated Press that the African empire has 1,000,000 men available to fight Italy.

Reports in Rome previously said 30,000 Ethiopian soldiers already were massed along the disputed frontier.

More Ethiopians than Italians have died in the frontier conflicts, Negradas Yesus said, adding that the idea of indemnity is abhorrent. Mussolini must soften his "harsh" demands, which thus far he has been "adamant in maintaining," he said, before Ethiopia will accept them.

Expressing his hope that war may be averted, the diplomat said:

"Ethiopia will never attack Italy but will defend herself in case of an attack. She can more than maintain her own."

Africans "Need No Allies"

While the African empire has no air force or poison gas, she has enough artillery, machine guns and rifles to equip the army of 1,000,000 men she can put into the field, he asserted.

Admitting Emperor Haile Selassie does not expect any foreign ally to come to his aide, the charge declared defiantly "Ethiopia does not need one."

As the rolling of war drums widened and deepened throughout Italy, well informed circles said Italy would insist on the most abject satisfaction on Ethiopia's part for the two affrays at Ualual and Asdub. The latter, which took place Jan. 29, has just been revealed.

To enforce the demands, the ministries of war, navy and air mustered technicians, road engineers and other experts into service, along with the 250,000 reservists already mobilized for possible expeditionary service.

British Expect Settlement

LONDON, Feb. 12 (AP) — Great Britain, pressing energetically for peaceful settlement of the Italo-Ethiopian dispute, was still confident tonight that open warfare would be averted.

Reports from Addis Ababa that direct negotiations for peace between Ethiopian and Italian representatives opened there yesterday were welcomed by officials here.

On the basis of reports from Sir Eric Drummond, British ambassador to Rome, the government understood there had yet been no movement of Italian troops or planes into Africa.

Drummond, terming the Italian mobilization "purely precautionary," reported the Italian government had assured him that Italian forces have not advanced their positions on the Ethiopian frontier and do not intend to do so. The ambassador's reports were to the effect Italy does not want to be "caught napping."

British official circles expressed great confidence that Benito Mussolini would act moderately. At the same time they said there apparently had been "strong provocation" on the part of Ethiopian tribesmen.

MANY ARE KILLED IN NEW OUTBREAK

AT BORDER TOWN

Scores of Natives Fighting Under Italian Colors in Somaliland Army Also Are Reported Wounded.

CLASH OUTGROWTH OF OLD DISPUTE

Abyssinia Charges Il Duce's Planes Bombarded Border Patrols Without Cause.

By THOMAS B. MORGAN.
(Copyright, 1935, by United Press.)

ROME, Feb. 10.—(UP)—A call to arms went out tonight to approximately 15,000 young men throughout Italy, comprising three classes called to the colors because of the renewed threat of war with Abyssinia.

The mobilization order, affecting thousands of youth in all walks of life in one of the greatest war preparation moves since the world conflict ended, went only to mechanized units.

Clashes Disclosed.

It followed announcement that more Italian troops had been killed and wounded in fighting January 29 with Ethiopian forces near Ualual, on the Abyssinian-Italian Somaliland frontier, in northern Africa. Five dead were listed among the native troops fighting under the Italian flag—an "incident" which has brought the smouldering conflict to a dangerous crisis which Premier Benito Mussolini has met with drastic action.

The clash was one of a series which has brought Abyssinia and Italy close to an open break. The fighting has been recurrent, particularly in the vicinity of the border town of Ualual.

100 Lives Lost.

Upwards of 100 lives have been lost, most of them natives fighting under Italian colors in the Somaliland army.

Abyssinia appealed to the League of Nations, asking the council to arbitrate the dispute, but Italy refused, insisting that the treaty with Abyssinia called for direct negotiations between the two nations.

Abyssinia, through the League, insisted that Italian planes bombarded not only Abyssinian border patrols, without cause, but also non-combatant civil populations in frontier villages.

Italy retorted that Abyssinian troops had gone out of their way to attack peaceful Somaliland outposts, and demanded reparations.

The Abyssinian position was complicated further by a border raid by desert tribesmen on a French outpost on the French Somal-Abyssinian frontier. A French official and scores of natives were massacred.

France already had agreed tacitly to give Italy a free hand in dealing with Abyssinia even to taking over most of the country—and this clash added to her willingness to let Premier Mussolini go ahead.

Official Communique.

The new outbreak was described in an official communique:

"The Ethiopian (Abyssinian) pressure which, with continuous massing of armed forces, is now so evident near Ualual and immediate vicinity, has provoked another incident.

"On the morning of January 29 a troop of armed Ethiopians attacked our outpost at Afdub, south of Ualual. There was an exchange of firing causing losses on both sides. Five of our native troops were killed and six wounded. The Abyssinian losses were greater.

"The royal legation at Addis Ababa (Abyssinian capital) received instructions to present the Ethiopian government with a formal protest against this new incident."

It now appears certain that Italy, because of "constant raids by reported regular and irregular Ethiopian soldiers," is rushing preparations for "the defense of Italy's frontier on the Abyssinian border."

The calling to the colors of three specialized mobile classes was described as "for defense of the Eritrean frontier bordering Abyssinia." Italy holds that the Ethiopian raids constitute a "casus belli" because they originate on the Abyssinian side of the border.

Mussolini's calling out of the mechanized units was regarded as clear evidence if war is necessary they will bear the brunt of it, assisted by scores of warplanes.

New York Evening Post
JUN 17 1935

ETHIOPIAN APPEAL TO U. S. REVEALED

Plea of Abyssinian Delegate to League Was Rejected, Pamphlet Declares

A story of an Abyssinian appeal to the United States for support in the controversy with Italy is told today by Drew Pearson and Constantine Brown in a pamphlet issued as a supplement to their book, "The American Diplomatic Game."

After a futile appeal to members of the League of Nations, the story relates, Tecle Hawariate, Abyssinian delegate to the League, approached Prentiss Gilbert, American Counsul at Geneva.

NEW YORK TIMES
FEB 16 1935

NEGROES ASSAIL ITALY.

Two Papers Here Ask Prevention of Invasion of Ethiopia.

Protests against an Italian invasion of Abyssinia are contained in Negro newspapers published here. The New York News says editorially today, in part:

"Colored America demands that civilization does not permit Italy to precipitate a world race war by invading Abyssinia. Not only Mohammedan Africa but Protestant Africa from Cairo to Cape Town will make common cause with Ethiopia against the conquest of the land of King Menelik and the Queen of Sheba. This is the most unfit time in history for Europe and America to precipitate the further partition of Africa. Let civilization beware."

Yesterday The Negro Liberator, published by the League of Struggle for Negro Rights, carried a statement by the league's acting general secretary, A. W. Berry, which reads, in part:

"Solidarity action against Italian fascism would bolster the fight of the African people against their imperialistic exploiters. The African masses look to the Negro people and toilers in America for support and leadership in the fight against imperialism. Demand hands off Abyssinia."

"With eleven million Negroes in America," said Hawariate, "you cannot afford to ignore the one independent Negro Government left in the world."

He reminded Gilbert of the resentment which would result in New York's Harlem should the United States withhold protection from Abyssinia, but Gilbert replied that the resentment of New York's "Little Italy" would match that of Harlem if America should intercede. He refused the Abysinian request.

The supplement, offered by Doubleday-Doran, its publishers, as a unique development in book publishing, is an informal review of the history of the quarrel between Italy and Ethiopia. It contains also a "diplomatic who's who" written in the style of the "Washington Merry-Go-Round," of which Mr. Pearson was co-author.

Race Problem - 1935

Africa

Abyssinia

I

Ethiopia Moves 100,000 Men Against Italians

New Threat To Europe's Peace Is Engendered By Developments In Africa

Intervention Asked

Haile Selassie Mobilizing Forces As He Appeals To League Of Nations

Copyright, 1935, the Associated Press

ADDIS ABABA, April 4.—(AP)—Ethiopian soldiers, with no rattling of sabers or rolling of tribal war drums, trudged along dusty roads to the border tonight as Emperor Haile Selassie's answer to Italy's concentration of troops in Africa.

The king of kings, the conquering lion of Judah and the descendant of the Queen of Sheba summed up the Italo-Ethiopian frontier dispute to an interviewer thus:

"We have tried to negotiate directly with Italy, or through an intermediary. Unfortunately Italy has declined arbitration and has not replied to our proposals. Therefore we have broken off negotiations and submitted the matter to Geneva."

(The League of Nations announced receipt of Ethiopia's demand for urgent treatment of the dispute, the Ethiopian note citing reports that thousands of Egyptian workmen are being employed to build roads to the Ethiopian frontier of Italy's colonies.)

While the African emperor returned an emphatic "yellem!" (no) to an inquiry as to whether war already existed with Italy, an army authoritatively said to number 100,000 men, well equipped, well armed and well supplied, was moving toward the frontiers.

Part of those forces comprised units withdrawn from the Ogaden Desert and the Ualual sector because of intense heat.

Commanding the northern armies were Ras Kassa, member of the imperial family, who is considered the most important chieftain after the emperor, and Ras Seyum, hereditary governor of Tigre Province.

France Reinforces Eastern Defenses

PARIS, April 6.—(AP)—France, taking no chances of a surprise invasion of her eastern frontier, will man her concrete and steel defense fortifications with 60,000 soldiers who today were ordered held under arms for three months beyond the normal period of service.

As part of the steadily-growing program to bring the great fortress barrier against Germany up to full strength, trained men are to be kept in the ranks while their younger brothers, called to the colors under the new army program, will get preliminary training to fit them to take over full duties as soldiers.

Today's decision, which will keep the active army stationed in France up to a strength of 350,000 trained men for the next three months, was reached at a meeting of the Ministerial Council. It came on the heels of announcement yesterday that the army is proceeding with occupation of the defense system, with troops being moved up from Southern France into the eastern danger area.

Italy Irked By Attitude Of Britain And France

ROME, April 6.—(AP)—High Italian quarters tonight expressed irritation with England and doubt of France in connection with tri-power conference at Stresa which opens next Thursday.

At Stresa, foreign ministers of the three nations will consider Germany's rearmament, European problems arising in its wake and the old problem of security against war.

tion and other stores.

The government has assumed responsibility for organizing the commissary and establishing lines of communication from supply posts to advancing troops. Provisions already have been accumulated at strategic points, it was said.

Formerly Ethiopian soldiers went into action equipped with spears and sabers, leaving to their women the task of accumulating food supplies and delivering them to the troops.

The primitive form of military organizations has been superseded, however, in the face of the tension created by the Italo-Ethiopian border controversy.

Ethiopia's army was said to be officered by native chieftains, even though some European experts are here to advise this government in aviation and other branches of the armed forces.

ITALY TO MOBILIZE THOUSANDS MORE

ROME, April 4.—(AP)—Notices for the mobilization of tens of thousands of fascists who have volunteered for service in Africa were sent out today.

At the same time the steamship Conte Biancamano left Messina for Massaua, Eritrea, crowded with regular troops to reinforce the 31,000 already sent to east Africa.

The fascists mobilized will be incorporated in five divisions totaling at least 40,000 men.

Notices sent them requires them to report before the end of the week at the headquarters of their respective legions.

The steamer Abbazia today began to load further troops at Naples.

ETHIOPIA MASSES TROOPS AT BORDER

100,000 Well - Equipped Natives Move Toward Italian Possession.

4-5-35

ADDIS ABABA, April 4.—(AP)—Ethiopia today was authoritatively reported moving 100,000 well-armed, well-equipped troops closer to Eritrea and Italian Somaliland, where Italy has been massing troops during recent weeks.

At the same time Emperor Haile Selassie's government again declared that military movements are purely "precautionary."

Authoritative sources said the Ethiopian army is equipped with the latest types of rifles and plentifully supplied with machine guns, ammuni-

Ethiopia Moving Troops To Border

ADDIS ABABA, ETHIOPIA, April 3.—(AP)—Authoritative sources revealed today that Ethiopia is moving military forces close to the frontiers of Eritrea and Italian Somaliland to prepare for what the government regards as an Italian threat. 4-4-35

Government sources contended the troop movements were solely for defensive purposes. The Ethiopian fighting units were described as being on a more efficient basis than ever before. They were under strict orders to avoid all contact with the border garrisons of Italy.

(The British authorities at Aden, Arabia, were taking precautions in view of the growing seriousness of the situation in Ethiopia. A number of British troop-carrier planes were assembled at Aden available to evacuate about 100 British residents at Addis Ababa in the event of hostilities there. The British said almost anything could happen if the differences between Italy and Ethiopia were not settled soon.)

It was explained that the Ethiopian government had no intention of starting hostilities but the nation was said to be steadfastly behind Emperor Haile Selassie.

A report from Rome that an Ethiopian flag had been captured by Italian troops which the Ethiopian government says attacked an Ethiopian escort to a boundary commission, was denied.

THE WORLD'S WINDOW

By PIERRE VAN PAASSEN.

Meeting The Emperor.

Haile Selasse I, "King of Kings, Conquering Lion of Judah, Elect of God, Emperor of Ethiopia," received me in his private office in the imperial palace of Addis Abeba this morning and bade me welcome to his domains while expressing the wish that I should tell "to as many as would hear" that he has "no war-like thoughts, no enmity in his heart for any race, people or individuals and least of all toward His Majesty Vittorio Emanuele of Italy and the Italian prime minister, Signor Benito Mussolini." 4-9-35

I saw a slender man with a shrewd oriental face, whose eyes penetrated deeply and who spoke carefully weighing each word he uttered. From time to time those coal-black eyes fluttered somewhat nervously, whereupon he cast them down abruptly and began to adjust the ring with the diadem, which according to tradition was presented by King Solomon of the Hebrews to the Queen of Sheba. The emperors of Abyssinia claim descendance from the union of Solomon and Sheba.

Sharp and even raucous sounds the Abyssinian language when spoken by the merchants and hucksters in the market-place, but the speech of Haile Selasse could almost be called a melodious whisper. He was on the point of smiling several times, but repressed the inclination as if it would have detracted from his dignity. He was visibly pleased when I ventured to say that the Christian world was happy to have learned that under his beneficent rule slavery was being abolished in Abyssinia.

The emperor nodded his head several times at this and his eyes flew to a mahogany escritoire upon which stood a portrait of His Holiness Pope Pius XI. I recalled then that I had seen him some years ago in Paris when he was still co-regent. That was the occasion when he had also visited the vatican for a private audience with the pontiff, who had presented him with a portrait in jeweled frame.

He listened attentively while a court-interpreter translated my words from French into Amharic. Upon completion of the translation he burst into rapid speech, which turned out to be a reminder that the year of this journey through Europe had been followed by a difficult time, an era of civil war and rebellion, but all this was over now. I said the whole world knew his majesty as a social reformer under whose administration the people of Abyssinia had made astonishing progress in every branch of human endeavor.

The emperor nodded his head again and stroked his short beard. He asked a secretary who took down the conversation to repeat my statement. It seemed to please him. As he leaned over sideways I had a good opportunity to study his profile. The color of his skin is not black by any means, rather olive-hued, the color of South Americans, Spaniards and Sicilians, in whom there is, of course a lot of Moorish blood. The forehead is high, the hair was combed back straight, the nose more Greek than Semitic, although there was a striking resemblance in features, I thought, with those of the late King Hussein of the Hedjas, the father of Feisal of Irak, who was a typical Arab sheik and with whom I had once a sentimental tete-a-tete on the Isle of Cyprus.

(Copyright, 1935, for The Constitution.)

One Look at His Hair

"The emperor of Abyssinia, olive-skinned, and high-beaked, is best described as an Abyssinian, which may or may not include Negro blood."—Time Magazine. 4-13-35

The word Ethiopia means black faced. Herodotus the Greek historian referred to Ethiopia as inhabited both by a straight-haired race and a woolly-haired race.

Many an Ethiopian temple is adorned with the features of pure Negro kings and queens.

Even though Ethiopia were a white nation it could never have remained as it is, contiguous to Egypt and the Red Sea and close beside the Sudan, without mixing its blood with that of the African races.

But Ethiopia is black. It has always been predominantly black.

Academic argument isn't necessary. Let Time magazine take a look at the Abyssinian people themselves. That will settle the question, and as for the race of Emperor Haile Selassie, one glance at his hair would convince even Time.

Haile Selassie Won't Give Up If War Comes

By LADISLAU FARAGO

Copyright, 1935, by the Associated Press

ADDIS ABABA, April 7.—Emperor Haile Selassie declared today he was ready to pit the silver-covered leather shields, curved scimitars and ancient black powder rifles of Ethiopia's fighting forces against the heavy artillery and modern bombing planes of Italy in defense, if necessary, of the last black empire.

Although he emphatically stated that Ethiopia did not want war, the dark-bearded "king of kings, elect of God, and conquerior lion of Judah" made plain in an interview that his nation would resist any invasion to the last man.

The audience was held in the Emperor's favorite chamber, the tower of his new palace which stands like a lighthouse amid the green foliage surrounding his royal quarters, set among African grass huts, calabashes and native markets.

"Ethiopia does not want war. Yellem! Yellem!" the Emperor his dark eyes flashing, almost shouted. The Ethiopian "yellem" means a double strength negative.

"As a member of the League of Nations and signer of the Kellogg pact, we are bound to exhaust every means of peaceful settlement before resorting to war."

"But," he added solemnly, almost as though taking a vow, "in case of any foreign invasion while efforts to secure peaceful settlements are in progress, Ethiopia will resist that invasion to the utmost."

While the Emperor spoke there could be seen through a window of the palace a stream of native warriors garbed in the somewhat sunfaded Belgian khaki uniforms they wear, barefooted, filing through a crooked street swarming with gossiping natives in flowing white robes.

They were reported from other sources to be going to the frontier. Despite their none-too-smart sartorial appearance and their lack of most of the modern contrivance of warfare, the Emperor was confident that his fighters would give a good account of themselves. Many of his leaders who believed likewise, recalled the Italo-Ethiopian conflict of 1896 in which 8,000 Italian invaders were slaughtered.

"I have constantly endeavored," continued the Emperor, "to create an atmosphere favorable for the settlement of our trouble with Italy. But if it is long delayed and if the increase of Italian armament in neighboring colonies is thus facilitated, we shall be forced to prepare for the defense of our country."

"If the appeal to the League of Nations fails," he was asked, "will Ethiopia appeal to some power outside the League such as the United States?"

Haile Selassie, indicating that Ethiopia would stand alone, referred the question to his previous statement.

The Emperor reiterated the policy of Ethiopia would stand alone and avoid costly foreign alliances when questioned whether he thought of seeking new committments from France and Italy and Great Britain to assist his country in maintaining its integrity.

"Ethiopia," he said, "will appreciate aid from any source but will not sacrifice its political or economic independence."

100,000 ETHIOPIANS MOVING TO BORDER

Modern Armies Advancing in Answer to Massing of Italian Forces.

GENEVA GETS URGENT PLEA

Abyssinia Cites Italy's Contract for 4,500 Egyptians to Build Roads to Frontiers.

Copyright, 1935, by The Associated Press.

ADDIS ABABA, Abyssinia, April 6.—Ethiopian soldiers, with no rattling of sabers or rolling of tribal war drums, trudged along dusty roads to the border tonight as Emperor Haile Selassie's answer to Italy's concentration of troops in Africa.

The "King of Kings" summed up the Italo-Ethiopian frontier dispute as follows:

"We have tried to negotiate directly with Italy or through an intermediary. Unfortunately, Italy has declined arbitration and has not replied to our proposals. Therefore we have broken off negotiations and submitted the matter to Geneva."

While the African Emperor returned an emphatic "Yellem!" (no) to an inquiry as to whether war already existed with Italy, an Abyssinian army authoritatively said to number 100,000 men, well equipped, well armed and well supplied, was moving toward the frontiers.

Two Chieftains of Armies.

Commanding the northern armies were Ras Kassa, member of the imperial family, who is considered the most important chieftain after the Emperor, and Ras Seyum, hereditary Governor of Tigre Province.

Unlike the Ethiopian armies of 1896, which crushingly defeated an Italian invading force, the present-day soldiers make use of modern equipment. Wireless and airplanes speed communications formerly entrusted to barefoot runners, while rifles and machine-guns have replaced sabers and swords. War materials are arriving by way of Jibuti, French Somaliland.

Addis Ababa, unique capital of this unique land, goes calmly about its everyday pursuits, even showing no resentment against Italians living here. Many of the 150 Italian residents left for Eritrea recently, attracted by the high wages being paid as the result of the influx of Premier Mussolini's troops.

The Emperor, up since 5 A. M. and busy with affairs of State, received his interviewer clad in white shirt and jodhpur breeches. Numerous servants accompanied him, one carrying the red umbrella signifying royalty. Three cocker spaniels, gift of an uncle of Italy's King, followed him into the library, which contained numerous books in English and French.

Belgian Uniforms Worn.

Outside, in the palace yard, barefooted Ethiopian soldiers wearing Belgian uniforms—Ethiopia buys such uniforms in odd lots—drilled under Belgian military advisers.

A member of Haile Selassie's 'brain trust," young men educated in foreign countries at the Emperor's expense, introduced the interviewer and added, after the Emperor's remarks: "We are against war."

In mentioning arbitration the Emperor had in mind, it is understood, the British Minister, Sir Sidney Barton, whose instructions, however, had been to urge a direct settlement between Ethiopia and Italy with arbitration only as a last resort.

Council Gets Urgent Appeal.

Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

GENEVA, April 6.—Charging a contract for 4,000 Egyptian workers to build Eritrean roads to the Ethiopian border forms "a part of Italian military preparations" and is "of a nature to aggravate the existing conflict," Abyssinia has formally asked the Council of the League of Nations to "consider the situation as early as possible," that is to say at its forthcoming extraordinary session in April.

Announcing today the receipt of the appeal, Secretary General Joseph A. C. Avenal of the League replied today by citing the Council's amendment of last June, declaring that no new items could be added to the agenda of any extraordinary session except by the Council's consenting thereto at that time. He promised to submit the Ethiopian question to this meeting of the Council under this rule as urgent matter.

There seems little doubt M. Avenol's action was meant to discourage Ethiopia and meet the persistent desire of Italy, Britain and France to keep this conflict out of the Council, especially out of this special session on German rearmament.

M. Avernol's step, which is unprecedented, is criticized in some circles here as virtually putting the Council's procedure of rules above the covenant.

Appealed Under Three Articles.

Ethiopia previously appealed to Geneva not only under Articles XV and X of the covenant, but under Article XI, which provides that when the threat of war arises "the Secretary General shall on the request of any League member forthwith summon a meeting of the Council.

"Should the Council refuse to put Abyssinia's request on the agenda Ethiopia needs only to remind it of this provision to force it immediately to hold another special session to take up her appeal. Consequently it is supposed here the council, which applies its procedure rules by a majority vote, will grudgingly add the Italo-Ethiopian conflict to its agenda if today's hint it is unwelcome does not persuade Ethiopia to withdraw her protest.

It is reported here Egypt has withdrawn permission to these workers to go to Eritrea. Some secretariat officials hope this will cause Ethiopia to delay her appeal to the May session of the Council. It is supposed here the Egyptian movement made under British influence for this very purpose as the Ethiopian request, though given out only today, was dated April 3, which would have given London time to act.

ETHIOPIA REFUSES TO DEAL WITH ITALY

Rome Denies a Rupture and Predicts Mediation if Direct Talks Fail.

DIVERSION OF TROOPS SEEN

Few Italians Pass Suez—Concentration for Trouble in Austria Hinted.

By The Associated Press.

ADDIS ABABA, Ethopia, March 30.—Taking special measures to protect foreigners in the capital against possible hostilities, Emperor Haile Selassie's government today broke off direct negotiations with Italy over the boundary disputes which have brought 30,000 Italian troops into neighboring Eritrea and Somaliland. Ethiopia then sent a new note to the League of Nations.

In Addis Ababa a new Chief of Police was appointed and assigned to the task of reorganizing the police force in the capital to make it effective for any eventuality. It was explained this measure was taken in order to protect foreigners in the capital in case of hostilities.

Italy Denies an Open Rupture.

By The Associated Press.

ROME, March 30.—Italy does not consider that there has been an open rupture in negotiations with Ethiopia, a government spokesman said tonight in commenting on a dispatch from Addis Ababa that negotiations had broken down.

The Ethopian refusal to accept an Italian suggestion for personal meetings between the Italian Minister at Addis Ababa and the Ethiopian Foreign Minister, with all the cards on the table, merely dealt with procedure, he said.

It was made plain there was still hope on the Italian side of accomplishing something with direct negotiations. If the Ethiopians refused direct negotiations, conciliation by representatives nominated by the two powers would follow, it was said.

The Ethiopian Chargé d'Affaires here said, however, that the matter was now up to the League of Nations.

The Cabinet today instituted an air command for East Africa, uniting the air forces of Eritrea and Somaliland.

Diversion of Troops Seen.

Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

PARIS, March 30.—Information trickling through the Suez Company's headquarters in Paris gives reason to believe Premier Benito Mussolini may not have sent more than a small fraction of those troops that have sailed from Italy, ostensibly for Eritrea and Italian Somaliland, to their destination.

It is understood that few Italian troops have sailed through the Suez Canal, yet a glance at the map will show that they could not reach the Italian colonies by any other route.

According to reports circulating here, Signor Mussolini diverted these troops to Rhodes and Libya, having even then got wind of Germay's conscription plans. This would confirm the growing belief here that Signor Mussolini deems the European situation too dangerous to release the troops needed for the Ethiopian adventure and that he mobilized Italy's 1911 class because he expected or wanted to forestall trouble in Austria.

Arms for Ethiopia Held Up.

Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ADEN, Arabia, March 30.—All leave for officials of British Somaliland has been canceled as a precautionary measure in view of the strained Italo-Ethiopian situation.

Race Problem - 1935

Abyssinia

ABYSSINIAN PACTS RECALLED BY ITALY

On Basis of Agreements She Expects Support of Britain and France in Africa.

COURSE NOW UNOPPOSED

By ARNALDO CORTESI.

Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ROME, March 29.—Not the least remarkable feature of the Italo-Abyssinian controversy is the fact that the Italian attitude is regarded on the whole with sympathy in both France and England. This is rather strange because in the past Ethiopia has often been a bone of contention among the three powers, each watching the two others with jealous eyes lest one should obtain a foothold in what, with the exception of Liberia, is the last corner of Africa not acknowledging the domination of any European State.

France, Italy and Great Britain have been competing for Abyssinia since the end of the nineteenth century, for not only is that country reputed to possess vast natural resources but it also furnishes the greater part of the trade passing through colonies on the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean. Djibouti, the capital of French Somaliland, has hitherto succeeded in obtaining the greater part of this trade owing to the construction of a railroad linking it to the Abyssinian capital, Addis Ababa.

Road Led to Treaty.

This railroad precipitated the first Anglo-French controversy, for England advocated its internationalization, while France strongly resisted the suggestion. Italy supported Britain. A compromise was finally effected in 1906 by a tri-partite treaty which provided for the maintenance of the political territorial status quo in Abyssinia. In the event of the status quo being disturbed, the three powers were to act in concert for the protection of their respective spheres of interest.

These spheres of interest were defined as follows: For France, the hinterland of French Somaliland, plus the zone necessary for the construction and operation of the railroad from Djibouti to Addis Ababa; for England, the basin of the Nile and particularly the regulation of the waters of the Nile and its affluents; for Italy, the hinterland of Eritrea and Italian Somaliland plus the overland communications between them west of Addis Ababa.

A new element was introduced in 1919 when Italy approached Britain with the suggestion that Italy support Britain when the latter sought to obtain a concession to build barrage works around Lake Tsana and construct a motor road from the lake to the British Sudan, Britain in turn to support Italy when the latter sought a concession to build a railroad from Eritrea to Italian Somaliland. In addition, Italy requested from Britain and reserved the right to request from France an exclusive sphere of influence in Western Ethiopia as well as in the whole territory traversed by the railroad.

Agreement Caused Trouble.

This suggestion was allowed to lapse at the time, but negotiations begun in 1924 resulted in an agreement on those lines in 1926. It created great excitement and indignation in France and caused the Emperor of Abyssinia to appeal to the League of Nations on the ground that Britain and Italy were guilty of unwarranted interference in the internal affairs of his State.

The incident was closed, however, by the declarations of the British and Italian Governments that the agreement implied no obligation on any one except themselves, did not affect the rights of third parties or bind the Abyssinian Government.

This was followed in 1928 by two Italo-Abyssinian agreements. The first was a treaty of amity and conciliation and the second was a convention providing for the construction of an automobile road between Assab and Addis Ababa by way of Dessie and the establishment of an Abyssinian free zone in the Eritrean port of Assab.

These agreements and the treaties among Italy, France and Britain are still in force. There has been no mention of them so far, but in all probability they will come into play just as soon as the Italo-Abyssinian negotiations, having solved the Walwal incident, reach a point where the problem of opening Ethiopia to European trade and enterprise will have to be faced.

ETHIOPIA MASSES TROOPS AT BORDER

100,000 Well-Equipped Natives Move Toward Italian Possession.

ADDIS ABABA, April 4.—(AP)—Ethiopia today was authoritatively reported moving 100,000 well-armed, well-equipped troops closer to Eritrea and Italian Somaliland, where Italy has been massing troops during recent weeks.

At the same time Emperor Haile Selassie's government again declared that military movements are purely "precautionary."

Authoritative sources said the Ethiopian army is equipped with the latest types of rifles and plentifully supplied with machine guns, ammunition and other stores.

The government has assumed responsibility for organizing the commissary and establishing lines of communication from supply posts to advancing troops. Provisions already have been accumulated at strategic points, it was said.

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II

Italy's attitude can be summed up thus:

1. Annoyance with England because England apparently believes in a conciliatory attitude toward Germany, wants a general European accord and does not want an alliance.

2. Doubt of France because France, believed here to be under England's influence, is seemingly moving toward the idea of a general accord.

3. Belief that some definite stand, such as an alliance, must be taken by the three western powers without regard to any general pact.

The Italian press agrees that Italy's program at Stresa, which Premier Mussolini is drafting in his "mountain of meditation" at Rocca Delle Carminade, Forli Province, will be:

1. An accord to uphold Austria's independence, in which Germany may or may not participate.

2. Scrapping of the idea of the "Eastern Locarno" treaty which Germany and Poland have rejected, rather than let it stand in the way of an agreement in the West.

3. Conclusion of an aerial convention, with Germany included if possible, otherwise without her.

4. Provision for a treaty with Germany to limit her armaments which would be substituted for part of the Versailles Treaty (that restricting Germany's armaments), this instead of a disarmament treaty.

5. Germany's return to the League of Nations.

6. Approval of rearmament in Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria.

The proposal that Germany's three allies in the World War be allowed to rearm will be accompanied, by the proviso that the action be after negotiation with other powers.

The treaties of St. Germain, Trianon and Neuilly limited the armies in Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria respectively to 30,000, 35,000 and 20,000 men.

'Black Eagle of Harlem' Received Coolly on His Return to Ethiopia

ADDIS ABABA, Ethiopia, April 13.—(AP)—Hubert Julian, the "Black Eagle of Harlem," who once was a large part of Ethiopia's air force, received a cool reception today in the capital city of Haile Selassie's empire.

Julian, who arrived yesterday by train, wore a monocle and was sartorially perfect, but there appeared no immediate prospects of his defending Ethiopia against an Italian threat.

So far no one has accepted his offer to "dot-dot-dot" in the air for his country, the love of which he said brought him all the way from Harlem with a stopover at London.

The Black Eagle brought neither airplanes nor aviators, but he did bring two bags crammed with pictures of planes he hopes to sell to the government.

He sought an interview with the emperor, but the latter, doubtless recalling how the former air idol once cracked up the country's only airplane almost at his feet, was not at all interested.

The Harlemite presents a striking picture on the streets of Addis Ababa if nothing else. He walks about with two servants tagging along behind him struggling with two suitcases. It is a matter of town gossip that he changes his suits three times a day.

ABYSSINIAN WARRIORS: GUARDIANS OF THE NATION



Illustrated London News.

KING COTTON STIRS ETHIOPIAN BREW

Behind the Present Trouble in Africa Is a Struggle Which Involves Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan

By CLARENCE K. STREIT.

Special Correspondence, THE NEW YORK TIMES.

GENEVA.—Cotton is perhaps the best single key to the ambitions and rivalries of the great powers in Abyssinia to which the Italian adventure calls attention. It is not the only thing, of course, but, whether or not the reports are correct that Italy is making this great military show mainly to frighten Ethiopia into granting her concessions to grow cotton, there is no understanding the Abyssinian situation without considering cotton.

Cotton has risen during these hard times to be the king of kings in the commerce not only of the United States but of Italy, England and Japan. None of them can touch cotton without affecting the others for better or for worse, and they are each touching cotton, and Abyssinia touches cotton for them all. Nor is there understanding of French policy in Abyssinia without understanding that for France cotton is not king of kings.

A Record of Change.

The latest edition of the League of Nations yearbook, International Trade Statistics, giving figures for 1931 and 1933, shows:

ITALY—Raw cotton imports, which were 9.[illegible] per cent of the total value of imports in 1931, or in third place behind coal and wheat, were 11.3 per cent in 1933, or in first place. Cotton exports, easily first in 1931, with 9.7 per cent, were still more the king in 1933, with 10.1 per cent.

ENGLAND—Raw cotton imports were sixth, 3.4 per cent, in 1931, but had taken first place, with 5.6 per cent, in 1933, outdistancing butter, bacon, fruit, wheat and wood. John Bull in 1933 bought 142,000 tons more cotton. Cotton manufactures, long king of British exports, rose from 14.4 to 15.9 per cent of value of all exports.

JAPAN—Raw cotton, without a rival in imports in 1931, 24 per cent; in 1933, 31.6 per cent. Three million less for sugar, 10,000,000 less for meat, 309,000,000 yen more for cotton. And raw silk's historic reign as chief export ended, silk falling from 31.8 per cent to 21.3, while cotton manufactures rose from 18.6 to 21.9 and took the throne.

UNITED STATES—Raw cotton, always easily first in exports, skyrocketed from 13.7 per cent in 1931 to 24.2 in 1933. Meat sales were off $30,000,000 and wheat sales dropped from $50,000,000 to $5,000,000. But cotton sales from the South, great bulwark of the Democratic party, were up $72,000,000 in the first year of the New Deal's subsidized restrictions of cotton production and recession of the dollar.

FRANCE—Imports of raw cotton, 3.5 per cent in 1931, 5.5 in 1933, but still fifth place; exports of manufactured cotton rising from 4.6 to 5.2, but still fourth place.

Enough of figures. Now to relate them to Abyssinia.

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In 1906 the three rivals made their tripartite treaty by which they solemnly agreed to respect the territorial integrity of Abyssinia and to divide it into three zones of influence: France to dominate along the railroad her government was completing to Addis Ababa, making Jibuti the chief port of Abyssinia; Britain to dominate along the Blue Nile and at Lake Tsana, where it heads; Italy to have first right to build a railroad (when Abyssinia should consent) connecting her two strips of desert coast.

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Britain's interest was already influenced by cotton. To lessen her dependence on the United States for raw cotton she had launched the present great development of cotton cultivation in Egypt and the Sudan. The economy of those regions now depends on cotton, and their cotton depends on irrigation, and the irrigation depends on damming the Nile, especially the Blue Nile at Lake Tsana, and that depends on Abyssinia. In 1902, in a treaty with Abyssinia, Britain obtained the right, all other things being equal, to build any dam built at Lake Tsana.

Italy, weakened by the World War, feeling more the burden of her annual Eritrea and Somaliland deficits and of her American bill for raw cotton, rising in the textile business, began in 1922 planting cotton in the less arid parts of these colonies and turning deficit into surplus. And in Abyssinia she could see, too, a great expanse of temperate fertile land where cotton grew as it grew in the American South before the white men came.

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Britain and Italy.

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France protested this was a violation of the 1906 open door, Britain and Italy stressed it all depended on Abyssinia's consent. The Emperor of Abyssinia was deaf to requests.

Then the United States, prosperous, with money to invest, entered the picture. On Nov. 3, 1927, THE NEW YORK TIMES announced, (1) that Abyssinia had given the J. G. White Engineering Corporation of New York a $20,000,000 concession to build with its own money the Lake Tsana dam, sell water to the British, pay royalty to Abyssinia and eventually give her the dam, and (2) that the United States would consequently send for the first time in ten years a Minister to Addis Ababa.

New Dam Agreement.

Britain protested, pointing to her 1902 treaty, and blocked action. Then, on March 18, 1930, the British Labor Government, Abyssinia and the White Corporation's offspring, the American Finance and Construction Company, signed an agreement whereby the dam was to be built by the White Corporation, whose bonds were to be guaranteed by the Sudan Government's agreement to pay water taxes fifty years, and Abyssinia was to retain title and control of the dam.

But Britain's Labor Government went out with the pound's crash in 1931; the Conservatives renewed their opposition and to this day hardly more than a survey has been made for the dam. The survey has shown that the 250-mile highway to bring machinery to the dam would cost $8,000,000 (gold), which indicates what that far longer Italian railroad would cost.

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Uncle Sam re-entered, not so prosperous, worried about his cotton, prices collapsed, banks all closed. He started raising the price of cotton—in dollars—by reducing acreage and making the dollar worth 59 cents. Devaluation made American cotton cheaper to foreigners, removed the 70 per cent premium the British had been paying on the gold dollar, and reduced Japan's premium, but helped Italy less, giving her only a 40 per cent premium.

The results have been to stimulate British, Japanese and Italian interest in Abyssinia, to increase cotton production in Egypt and the Sudan and eleswhere, and to depreciate recently still more the pound and yen. The effect on the United States has been to break cotton prices and lead Washington to seek vainly to restrict cotton output everywhere in the world.

ABYSSINIAN WARRIORS: GUARDIANS OF THE NATION



Illustrated London News.

KING COTTON STIRS ETHIOPIAN BREW

Behind the Present Trouble in Africa Is a Struggle Which Involves Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan

By CLARENCE K. STREIT.

Special Correspondence, THE NEW YORK TIMES.

GENEVA.—Cotton is perhaps the best single key to the ambitions and rivalries of the great powers in Abyssinia to which the Italian adventure calls attention. It is not the only thing, of course, but, whether or not the reports are correct that Italy is making this great military show mainly to frighten Ethiopia into granting her concessions to grow cotton, there is no understanding the Abyssinian situation without considering cotton.

Cotton has risen during these hard times to be the king of kings in the commerce not only of the United States but of Italy, England and Japan. None of them can touch cotton without affecting the others for better or for worse, and they are each touching cotton, and Abyssinia touches cotton for them all. Nor is there understanding of French policy in Abyssinia without understanding that for France cotton is not king of kings.

A Record of Change.

The latest edition of the League of Nations yearbook, International Trade Statistics, giving figures for 1931 and 1933, shows:

ITALY—Raw cotton imports, which were 9.[illegible] per cent of the total value of imports in 1931, or in third place behind coal and wheat, were 11.3 per cent in 1933, or in first place. Cotton exports, easily first in 1931, with 9.7 per cent, were still more the king in 1933, with 10.1 per cent.

ENGLAND—Raw cotton imports were sixth, 3.4 per cent, in 1931, but had taken first place, with 5.6 per cent, in 1933, outdistancing butter, bacon, fruit, wheat and wood. John Bull in 1933 bought 142,000 tons more cotton. Cotton manufactures, long king of British exports, rose from 14.4 to 15.9 per cent of value of all exports.

JAPAN—Raw cotton, without a rival in imports in 1931, 24 per cent; in 1933, 31.6 per cent. Three million less for sugar, 10,000,000 less for meat, 309,000,000 yen more for cotton. And raw silk's historic reign as chief export ended, silk falling from 31.8 per cent to 21.3, while cotton manufactures rose from 18.6 to 21.9 and took the throne.

UNITED STATES—Raw cotton, always easily first in exports, skyrocketed from 13.7 per cent in 1931 to 24.2 in 1933. Meat sales were off $30,000,000 and wheat sales dropped from $50,000,000 to $5,000,000. But cotton sales from the South, great bulwark of the Democratic party, were up $72,000,000 in the first year of the New Deal's subsidized restrictions of cotton production and recession of the dollar.

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Liberia.

Race Problem - 1935

Africa

BARCLAY SEEKS RE-ELECTION

Recorder

MONROVIA, Liberia, March 1.—(ANP)—President Edwin S. Barclay, president of Liberia, is seeking reelection to that office. He is just completing his fifth year of office and is said to favor the extension of the presidential term to eight years. 3-2-35

Under President Barclay, Liberia has been the pivot of international diplomatic and financial difficulties. Faced with the almost insurmountable task of leading the Liberians out of the morass of an economic confusion, his supporters contended that Mr. Barclay should be given a further indication of the confidence his constituents impose in him.



Times Wide World Photo.

RE-ELECTED IN LIBERIA.
Edwin Barclay.

BARCLAY RE-ELECTED LIBERIAN PRESIDENT

Amendment Extending Term From 4 to 8 Years Carried at May 7 Election.

5-14-35

The re-election of Edwin J. Barclay as President of the Republic of Liberia and the carrying of a constitutional amendment extending the President's term from four to eight years was announced here yesterday by Walter F. Walker, Liberian Consul in New York.

President Barclay, the nominee of the True Whig party, received 344,569 votes and his opponent, former President C. D. B. King, candidate of the Peoples' party and also of the United Whig party, received 7,784 votes in the elections held May 7.

Newspaper

Presiden Barclay was Secretary of State when President King resigned in 1930 after charges had been made that Liberian Government officials were implicated in the sending of forced labor to Fernando Po, a Spanish possession on the west coast of Africa. Mr. Barclay assumed the Presidency after Mr. King's resignation and he was elected to the office in 1931.

Commenting on President Barclay's re-election, Thomas Jesse Jones, chairman of the Advisory Committee on Education in Liberia said:

"The election of President Barclay for an eight-year term gives him a rare opportunity to serve the Liberian people loyally and devotedly. Liberia is in a position to establish a closer bond of friendship between the republic and the United States, an alliance which should protect it from threatened dangers from without, such as the recent suggestion that Liberia be mandated by Germany."

Liberian-Firestone Agreement Reached, Says Weekly Mirror

5-13-35

Newspaper

President Barclay Confers With Harvey S. Firestone, Jr. At Executive Mansion

Although no official announcement has been made either in Liberia or the United States that the Liberian Government and the Firestone Tire and Rubber Company have straightened out their differences and are once again actively cooperating for their mutual betterment, the following news article published in The Weekly (Monrovia) Mirror confirms reports that a satisfactory agreement has been reached:

"Mr. Harvey S. Firestone, Jr., has made his third visit to Liberia. He came as a guest of the President and in interest of his concerns in Liberia. During his short visit to Liberia. Mr. Firestone has been able, together wth the President, to effect such adjustments calculated to smooth out the differences between the company and Liberia and to bring about harmonious relations between the two parties concerned.

"He (Mr. Firestone) claims that the existence of lack of harmony between Liberia and his company, to use his own words, 'is unprofitable both to the Government of Liberia and the interests of Firestone in Liberia.' He expressed the impression that from observation**** the natives seem to have confidence in the Barclay Administration. Mr Firestone is the oldest son of Harvey Samuel and Idabelle (Smith) Firestone and was born in Chicago.****

This young millionaire gentleman, who is very affable and courteous, has become a part of Liberian life. The President had a dinner in his honor Saturday, March 23, and he and his wife, together with Mr. R. S. Corwin, manager of the Firestone Bank, left for the United States Sunday, March 24, by the Biazza."

In another column of The Weekly Mirror, appeared the statement: "Mr. Harvey S. Firestone, Jr., and President Edwin Barclay really know how to make succotash. Mr. Firestone produced the industrial corn and His Excellency the governmental beans, and we have a huge dish called success."

BARCLAY IS AGAIN ELECTED TO LIBERIAN PRESIDENCY

MONROVIA, Liberia, (ANP)—President Edwin J. Barclay, has just been reelected president of the Republic of Liberia. President Barclay received the overwhelming endorsement of the electorates according to figure made public by the government, Barclay polling 344,569 votes to 7,784 received by ex-president, C. D. H. King. President Barclay was a candidate on the ticket of the True Whig party, a part which acquires its name from its presumed representation of the masses. Mr. King ran under the dual party label of the People's Party and the United Whig party.

This was President Barclay's first election at the hands of the people. He had been Secretary of State when he assumed the office of chief executive in 1930 after President King resigned under fire because of charges that Liberian officials aided by King were sending natives into forced labor in Fernando Po, an adjoining country controlled by Spain.

Most important feature of the election was the carrying of an amendment to the constitution which extends the president's term from four years to eight years. Few republics have tenures of office for their chief executives of such length.

Of importance to America and those countries affiliated with the League of Nations, will be Liberia's attitude toward its financial and international problems. Clever manipulation on the part of Mr. Barclay and mandated territory under the auspices of a League of Nations Committee. Such a transfer of power had been sought because of Liberia's defaulting upon certain debts owed to European countries and to the Firestone Tire and Rubber Company of America.

Indications are that these difficulties will be ironed out. Harvey Firestone, Jr., of the rubber concern which maintains a great plantation in Liberia has just returned to America after making his third visit here. It is the Firestone firm which advanced the $5,000,000 necessary to rehabilitate Liberia's finances some years ago and it is the failure to pay the interest on that loan which led to part of the African republic's difficulties.

Mr. Firestone was the guest of President Barclay during part of his stay and observers report that they seemed to have reached an accord. It is expected in high circles here that America which has refused to send an official diplomatic representative pending an adjustment of its relations with Liberia, will now proceed to the naming of a minister.

U.S. GRANTS LIBERIA RECOGNITION AGAIN

Lends Support to President Barclay in Plan to Reform Labor and Health Evils.

6-12-35

LEAGUE ACTION BLOCKED

New York Times

Renewal of Relations After 5 Years Seen as Assuring Nation's Sovereignty.

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, June 11.—Diplomatic recognition was accorded by the United States to Liberia today after a lapse of formal relations since 1930. It was given under conditions that mean the support of the United States for the government of President Edward Barclay in efforts to rehabilitate the country through correcting forced labor conditions that amount to virtual slavery, improving sanitation and strengthening the financial position of the government.

The action was taken without prior announcement through a communication delivered to President Barclay this afternoon by Frederick P. Hibbard, United States Chargé d'Affaires in Monrovia. The communication said:

"It is with real pleasure that I communicate to your excellency the decision of the American Govern-

nent to extend as of today formal recognition to your administration. At the same time the Secretary of State has directed me to express the good wishes of the American Government and people for the welfare of Liberia and to affirm their confidence in its rehabilitation under the plan which your Excellency has formulated."

Britain Defers Action.

Great Britain, which has cooperated with the United States since this country began its efforts in 1929 to correct what have been described as appalling conditions in the African republic, has not extended recognition yet. Washington informed her in advance of its intentions, but she is described as preferring to delay similar action until she is satisfied that the Kru coastal tribes are no longer subjected to what it described as tyranny from Monrovia.

Washington is confident that this condition will be terminated. Because of her close interest in the status of the Kru tribes, because they border British colonial possessions, Britain prefers to see justice established for them beyond question. France had never withdrawn recognition from Liberia.

While the negotiations looking to rehabilitation of Liberia in the past five years have been protracted and highly technical, and have concerned not only the United States and Great Britain, but also the League of Nations, some uncertainty existed today in the absence of definite explanations by officials as to whether American recognition meant a recession from previous insistence that conditions be cleaned up.

It is understood, however, from such informal but authoritative discussions as there were, that the American position is essentially unchanged.

The government's move was said to be satisfactory to the Firestone Tire and Rubber Company, which is directly concerned because of its million-acre rubber plantation concessions in Liberia and its loans of approximately $1,750,000 to the Monrovia Government.

Two Worked Out Plan.

The adjustment was worked out primarily by Harry A. McBride, assistant to Secretary Hull, and a veteran career diplomat, who went to Liberia in May, 1934, to discuss affairs with President Barclay, and by Mr. Hibbard, who was appointed Chargé last September as a result of the progress made by Mr. McBride. Mr. Hibbard's appointment, in the light of today's step, was a forecast of recognition.

The underlying significance of the move is that President Barclay is to have the moral support of the United States in working out plans of his own, which the United States regards as substantially, if not completely, like those it has urged for years, even though under the setup he is to appoint a chief adviser, to supervise reforms who, while a foreigner, will be responsible to him and not to the League of Nations, as was proposed some time ago.

Before extending recognition Washington was satisfied that President Barclay would attempt in good faith to carry out the program of eliminating forced labor, affording justice to all elements in the country, correcting sanitary conditions and strengthening the government's budgetary position.

The League of Nations two years ago submitted a plan of assistance that had been drafted by a committee with which the United States had collaborated actively, but this was rejected by Liberia because the chief adviser was not to be responsible to the President. The League, accordingly, withdrew the plan last year. Had the United States insisted the League probably would have stepped forward again. Probably the only other alternative, short of having Liberia work out her own salvation, would have been for the United States to intervene actively.

Sovereignty Left Intact.

Washington's present course avoids the latter alternative, which would have been in conflict with the good neighbor policy of President Roosevelt. It also is regarded as assuring the unimpaired sovereignty of the African republic and removing any danger of intervention by other governments either through the League of Nations or directly. This is understood to be as pleasing to Great Britain as to the United States.

The Barclay plan provides for liberalizing the contracts of 1926 with the Firestone interests through reducing the loan interest rate from 7 to 5 per cent and for other concessions by the Firestone company in respect to priorities on payments and other technical financial details. Liberia suspended payments on the Firestone loans in 1932, but is understood to be prepared to resume them now.

It is probable that John C. Loomis, the American financial adviser, will be relieved of his duties soon. He has long been in ill health.

When an international committee at the instance of the United States made an investigation in 1929 and reported shocking conditions in Liberia, President Charles D. B. King and his vice president resigned. Mr. Barclay, who had been Secretary of State, then became Acting President, but the United States withheld recognition pending a correction of affairs. Recently Mr. Barclay was elected President by an overwhelming majority. American recognition will still further strengthen his hand with his own people, it is believed.

Think Walton Has Firestone O.K for Liberian Ministry

Ex-Newspaper Man Has Indorsement of Moton, Phelps Stokes Fund.

3 OTHER CANDIDATES ARE IN THE FIELD

List Includes Thompkins, Johnson, and Jones.

WASHINGTON. — Diplomatic recognition accorded by the United States to Liberia on June 11, after a lapse of formal relations since 1930, presages early appointment of a minister to represent this country at Monrovia.

Lester A. Walton, newspaperman, of New York City, appears to be the likely choice for the post.

Other aspirants include: Sully James, a lawyer, of Springfield, Ohio; Dr. Joseph L. Johnson, of Columbus, Ohio, who was minister to Liberia under President Wilson; and Dr. William J. Thompkins, of Kansas City, Missouri, the present recorder of deeds of the District of Columbia.

Familiar with Problems

Mr. Walton has the advantage of being conversant with conditions in Liberia with which any reforms must be concerned.

Shortly after practices in that country that were virtually slavery and conditions that were a menace to the health of the whole West Coast of Africa were disclosed in 1929, Mr. Walton visited the country, and wrote a series of articles for the late New York World which were sympathetic with the efforts of Liberians to administer their own affairs.

Favored by State Department

His candidacy is said to be regarded with favor by the State Department. Upon the occasion of his visit to the West African republic, he was well received by its government officials and extended every courtesy that could be shown an acceptable visitor.

His indorsements for the position come from a cross-section of American life. Church, business and educational institutions, which have large interests in Liberia, are represented among his indorsers.

He also has strong political backing, having handled publicity for the Democratic National Committee in several national campaigns.

Wagner Among Indorsers

His indorsers include: Senator Robert F. Wagner, white (Dem., N.Y.); C. C. Spaulding, president of the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company, Durham, N.C.; J. H. Dillard, white educator of Charlottesville, Va.; Claude A. Barnett, editor-in-chief, Associated Negro Press, Chicago, Ill.; Roscoe Conkling Bruce, New York City.

Other indorsers of Mr. Walton include: Bishop Reverdy C. Ransom of the A.M.E. Church, New York City; Judge James S. Watson of the municipal court, New York City; Thomas Jesse Jones, New York City, director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund; Dr. R. R. Moton, retired principal, Tuskegee Institute;

Foreign mission secretaries — the Rev. L. L. Berry; president, the Rev. H. T. Medford, secretary; and the Rev. J. H. Randolph, treasurer;

Dr. L. K. Williams, Chicago, president of the National Baptist Convention, Inc.; Thomas B. Dyett, member, Democratic State Committee, New York City; George Foster Peabody, banker, Saratoga, New York;

Dr. William J. Thompkins, recorder of deeds, District of Columbia; Dr. Williamz..r mhoafr mhoafr mhoar oa Channing H. Tobias, general secretary, YMCA, New York City; Dr. Mary F. Waring, president, National Association of Colored Women's Clubs.

Firestone Liked Article

The attitude of the Firestone Tire and Rubber Company, which is directly concerned because of its million-dollar moah roah its million-acre rubber plantation concessions in Liberia and its loan of approximately $1,750,000 to the Liberian Government, is not known.

Whether it will favor Mr. Walton or an Ohioan is the subject of speculation in political circles.

It is known, however, that the articles written by Mr. Walton on conditions in the West African republic were satisfactory to the rubber company.

Mr. James has the support of Senator Robert J. Bulkley, Democrat, of Ohio, and of the Ohio State Democratic Executive Committee.

THREE-YEAR PLAN IN LIBERIA.

New U.S. Minister Interviewed.

The Hon. Lester A. Walton, the newly appointed United States Minister to Liberia, was interviewed by Press representatives in London this week prior to his departure for Monrovia by the S.S. "Appam," on Wednesday. He will be the first accredited U.S. Minister to Liberia since diplomatic relations between the two countries were broken off five years ago.

"Since Liberia turned down the five-year plan drawn up by the International Committee," Mr. Walton stated, "President Barclay has launched a three-year plan of his own, which envisages economic development, improvement in health and hygiene, development of the educational system, and improvement in the condition of the aboriginal natives."

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The Barclay plan provides for liberalizing the contracts of 1926 with the Firestone interests through reducing the loan interest rate from 7 to 5 per cent and for other concessions by the Firestone company in respect to priorities on payments and other technical financial details. Liberia suspended payments on the Firestone loans in 1932, but is understood to be prepared to resume them now.

It is probable that John C. Loomis, the American financial adviser, will be relieved of his duties soon. He has long been in ill health.

When an international committee at the instance of the United States made an investigation in 1929 and reported shocking conditions in Liberia, President Charles D. B. King and his vice president resigned. Mr. Barclay, who had been Secretary of State, then became Acting President, but the United States withheld recognition pending a correction of affairs. Recently Mr. Barclay was elected President by an overwhelming majority. American recognition will still further strengthen his hand with his own people, it is believed.

Think Walton Has Firestone O.K for Liberian Ministry

Ex-Newspaper Man Has Indorsement of Moton, Phelps Stokes Fund.

3 OTHER CANDIDATES ARE IN THE FIELD

List Includes Thompkins, Johnson, and Jones.

WASHINGTON. — Diplomatic recognition accorded by the United States to Liberia on June 11, after a lapse of formal relations since 1930, presages early appointment of a minister to represent this country at Monrovia.

Lester A. Walton, newspaperman, of New York City, appears to be the likely choice for the post.

Other aspirants include: Sully James, a lawyer, of Springfield, Ohio; Dr. Joseph L. Johnson, of Columbus, Ohio, who was minister to Liberia under President Wilson; and Dr. William J. Thompkins, of Kansas City, Missouri, the present recorder of deeds of the District of Columbia.

Familiar with Problems

Mr. Walton has the advantage of being conversant with conditions in Liberia with which any reforms must be concerned.

Shortly after practices in that country that were virtually slavery and conditions that were a menace to the health of the whole West Coast of Africa were disclosed in 1929, Mr. Walton visited the country, and wrote a series of articles for the late New York World which were sympathetic with the efforts of Liberians to administer their own affairs.

Favored by State Department

His candidacy is said to be regarded with favor by the State Department. Upon the occasion of his visit to the West African republic, he was well received by its government officials and extended every courtesy that could be shown an acceptable visitor.

His indorsements for the position come from a cross-section of American life. Church, business and educational institutions, which have large interests in Liberia, are represented among his indorsers.

He also has strong political backing, having handled publicity for the Democratic National Committee in several national campaigns.

Wagner Among Indorsers

His indorsers include: Senator Robert F. Wagner, white (Dem., N.Y.); C. C. Spaulding, president of the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company, Durham, N.C.; J. H. Dillard, white educator of Charlottesville, Va.; Claude A. Barnett, editor-in-chief, Associated Negro Press, Chicago, Ill.; Roscoe Conkling Bruce, New York City.

Other indorsers of Mr. Walton include: Bishop Reverdy C. Ransom of the A.M.E. Church, New York City; Judge James S. Watson of the municipal court, New York City; Thomas Jesse Jones, New York City, director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund; Dr. R. R. Moton, retired principal, Tuskegee Institute;

Foreign mission secretaries — the Rev. L. L. Berry; president, the Rev. H. T. Medford, secretary; and the Rev. J. H. Randolph, treasurer;

Dr. L. K. Williams, Chicago, president of the National Baptist Convention, Inc.; Thomas B. Dyett, member, Democratic State Committee, New York City; George Foster Peabody, banker, Saratoga, New York;

Dr. William J. Thompkins, recorder of deeds, District of Columbia; Dr. Williamz..r mhoafr mhoafr mhoar oa Channing H. Tobias, general secretary, YMCA, New York City; Dr. Mary F. Waring, president, National Association of Colored Women's Clubs.

Firestone Liked Article

The attitude of the Firestone Tire and Rubber Company, which is directly concerned because of its million-dollar moah roah its million-acre rubber plantation concessions in Liberia and its loan of approximately $1,750,000 to the Liberian Government, is not known.

Whether it will favor Mr. Walton or an Ohioan is the subject of speculation in political circles.

It is known, however, that the articles written by Mr. Walton on conditions in the West African republic were satisfactory to the rubber company.

Mr. James has the support of Senator Robert J. Bulkley, Democrat, of Ohio, and of the Ohio State Democratic Executive Committee.

New U.S. Minister Interviewed.

THREE-YEAR PLAN IN LIBERIA.

The Hon. Lester A. Walton, the newly appointed United States Minister to Liberia, was interviewed by Press representatives in London this week prior to his departure for Monrovia by the S.S. "Appam," on Wednesday. He will be the first accredited U.S. Minister to Liberia since diplomatic relations between the two countries were broken off five years ago.

"Since Liberia turned down the five-year plan drawn up by the International Committee," Mr. Walton stated, "President Barclay has launched a three-year plan of his own, which envisages economic development, improvement in health and hygiene, development of the educational system, and improvement in the condition of the aboriginal natives."

Race Problem—1935

Liberia

Africa

ST. PAUL, MINN.
PIONEER PRESS

JUN 21 1935

Liberia Renovated.

Having made a vigorous attempt to clean house, the Negro republic of Liberia has again received the official recognition of the United States which was withdrawn in 1930. Other nations are expected to follow the example of this country but it is inevitable that there will be a general disposition to regard renewed recognition as probationary.

Liberia is the only remaining political division of Africa solely under the rule of Africans. Its unpleasing history is an example of an American reform which placed a lot of unfortunates within easy reach of highly destructive influences and then left them to their own devices. There were plenty of emotional arguments in 1820 when the American Colonization Society conceived the apparently humane project of sending freed slaves back to their ancestral home. It was an anomaly that while American ships were carrying out the colonists, other vessels under the same flag were bringing full cargoes of slaves to America from Africa.

In 1840 the colony adopted a constitution and received diplomatic recognition as an independent nation. The jungle had already begun to come back into the minds of a people whose inheritance from their American sojourn seemed chiefly to consist of a vicious ability to exploit their fellows. Had it not been for revolting abuses which included virtual human slavery, the spectacle of a nation which had lost all tradition through two migrations would have been merely fantastic.

A League of Nations report in 1930 revealed conditions which Henry L. Stimson, then secretary of state, characterized as a shocking indictment though he did not date the origin of the offense back to 1820 when the foundation for it was laid.

As human beings, the Liberians deserve a chance to escape from the ultimate consequences of old time, ill-considered Caucasian benevolence

Senate Confirms Walton As Minister To Liberia

New York Age.
New York N.Y.
7-27-35

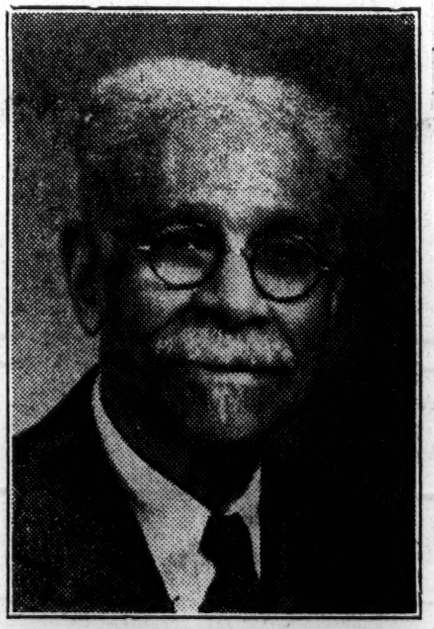
WASHINGTON, D. C.—On July 18, the U. S. Senate confirmed the nomination of Lester A. Walton as Minister to Liberia. The previous day his selection was unanimously approved by the Foreign Relations Committee.

Mr. Walton continues to receive congratulatory messages from every section of the country. Dr. Charles H. Garvin, well-known Cleveland physician wrote: "We folks in Cleveland are very much pleased and proud of you. We feel that it is much-deserved honor and that a grateful political party and government will never regret the appointment.

Other felicitations were from Miss Nannie H. Burroughs, president of the National Training School for Women and Girls, Washington, D. C.; Dr. W. L. Wright, vice president, Lincoln University, Pennsylvania; George W. Eads, publicist, Washington, D. C.; Ben Robertson, Jr., member of Associated Press staff at Washington; Myles A. Paige, counselor of law; Dr. D. O. W. Holmes, Howard University; A. A. Schomburg, authority on Negro literature; Prof. A. J. Gossin, Summer High School, St. Louis; Houston C. Reid, Selma, Ala.; Mrs. Gladys Kelley, probation officer; Claude A. Barnett, director Associated Negro Press.

EX-MINISTER REVISITS CITY

Former Minister To Liberia Believes Italy Riding To Fall



DR. GEORGE W. BUCKNER

A man who came here sixty-two years ago when Indianapolis was still regarded as a frontier of the "wild and wooly west" returned the other day to ruminate on the profound changes Time and man's ingenuity have wrought.

George Washington Buckner came here in 1873 to enter a medical college and began a career that has made him a figure of national prominence. He has practiced medicine at his home in Evansville, Ind., for many years. He is a former minister to Liberia, having been appointed in 1913 by the late President Woodrow Wilson. Dr. Buckner is 80 years of age and has been a Democrat throughout his voting age. He is said to be the oldest living colored Democrat in the country.

Indianapolis has made a remarkable progress since he first came here, the distinguished diplomat said. But in the case of Italy, history is repeating itself. Forty years ago, he said, the Latin nation improverished itself by an ostentations display of military pomp and ambition. She is doing the same thing, today, he said, and is likely to suffer consequences much graver than was first the case.

While here, the venerable physician was the guest of his daughter, Mrs. Stella Buckner Middleton, head of the English Department of Attucks high school.

They Even Buy Health

Until the World War made Liberia grow its own rice, a million dollars worth of this food was imported every year from China and Japan.

Liberia still imports all its meats, fish, fruit and vegetables, gin, hats, clothing, shoes and tobacco.

Africa-American news
Baltimore, Md.
8-31-35

Discovery that rich Liberians are now going to Europe for a vacation led the Monrovia Weekly Mirror, recently, to call on the government to wake up.

The Mirror points out that in the interior of Liberia are mountains and plateaus 1500 feet high alternating comfortable days and wintry nights. It urges the government to erect hotels and recreation grounds so that Liberians will not need to purchase their health abroad.

The Barclay government, if it is wise, will not only make Liberia self-supporting, but it will build up its interior, construct highways, train a militia and erect munitions factories to provide them with arms.

If Hitler decided to annex Liberia, tomorrow, he could do so with 2,000 marines and one war vessel.

Haile Selassie's unpreparedness ought not to be lost on President Barclay.

WALTON PLEDGES AID TO LIBERIANS

Amsterdam News

Diplomatic Relations Renewed in Full

10-12-35

The assistance of the United States in the efforts of the Liberian government to overcome the social, economic and political problems of that republic was pleged during the exchange of amenities, October 2, between President Barclay of Liberia and Lester Walton, the newly appointed minister to Liberia, according to cable received by the Advisory Committee on Education in Liberia, 101 Park avenue, and released this week.

New York

Bands played through the gayly decorated streets of Monrovia, the seat of the Liberian government, as Mr. Walton presented his credentials, marking the renewal of full diplomatic relations between the two governments after a five-year lapse.

Mr. Walton, accompanied by Frederick P. Hibbard, charge d'affaires whom Mr. Walton now relieves, was escorted from the American legation to the executive mansion by a squad of Liberian frontier force and a band playing American airs. In presenting his credentials, Minister Walton said:

Mr. President:

Particular significance devolves upon the traditional relations between Liberia and the United States as I present my credentials to you, as my government's representative in Monrovia. It is the beginning of a new era, auspiciously begun in these relations which I am charged to develop and cement on terms of mutual regard and good-will. My government has viewed with sympathetic interest the steps which the Republic of Liberia has taken under your able guidance to overcome the social, economic and political problems which are common to all countries, as well as particular to Liberia. My government is ever ready to assist your efforts and feels confident that it will continue to receive your co-operation in obtaining the greatest measure of success in this direction.

President Barclay replied:

Mr. Minister: The quality in which your excellency has been accredited as the representative of the government of the United States near the President of the Republic of Liberia attests the emphasis which it is intended should

be placed upon the maintenance and continuous development of those traditional relations of amity and good-will which have for so long a period characterized our mutual intercourse. Its significance is not and will not be lost upon the government of Liberia.

I am sincerely appreciative of the sympathetic interest which your excellency's government continues to manifest in the economic, social and political progress of this republic, and shall welcome that co-operation of which you have been charged to assure us. Your Excellency may be confident that no effort will be lacking on our part to further the successful accomplishment of the mission with which you have been entrusted.

LIBERIA

Resumption Of Diplomatic Relations

Monorovia, Liberia—(ANP)—When President Edwin J. Barclay of Liberia in formal state assembly received American Minister Lester A. Walton and accepted his credentials as the representative of the United States, it marked the resumption of diplomatic relations between American and the African Republic which had been severed for five years. The event was a gala occasion for the capital. The citiens of the capital lined the streets as Minister Walton accompanied by Frederick P. Hibbard, white, Charge D'Affairs ad interim, was escorted from the American Legation to the executive mansion by a squad of the Liberian Frontier Force under command of Captain Henry W. Dennis, with the Frontier Force Band playing American airs.

giving recognition to the new nation, observes a writer in the Cleveland Plain Dealer, but it has since several times made the rest of the world understand that it is interested in keeping Liberia independent, or the republic would probably have been swallowed up long since by one of the European powers.

The constitution and government of Liberia are modeled upon those of the United States. There is a congress made up of a senate and a house of representatives, and the executive authority is vested in a president and a cabinet of six. Electors must be of negro blood and owners of land. All of the officers of government are negroes, largely the descendants of American negroes. The official language of the government is English, but only about 50,000 of the population of 1,500,000 or more is considered civilized. The first half dozen presidents of Liberia were all of American birth.

Birmingham, Ala., Labor Advocate
November 9. 1935

Liberia's Constitution Copies That of the U. S.

Liberia is a republic, one of the three independent negro nations of the world. It had its origins in the efforts of several American and European colonization societies to establish a homeland for liberated slaves.

The first settlement was planted in 1822, and in 1847 the land grants which had been acquired from native chiefs by the colonization societies were constituted as the republic of Liberia. The United States was rather tardy in

Race Problem - 1935

Africa

Liberia

PHILADELPHIA, PA.
BULLETIN

JUN 12 1935

THE LIBERIAN SOLUTION

Recognition by Washington of the Liberian Government after a break of five years appears a satisfactory solution of the difficult problems which conditions in the African republic have presented. The United States has always disclaimed any special responsibility for that country or any semblance of a protectorate over it, and has chosen to co-operate with the League of Nations.

But this country has a traditional interest in this State which owes its foundation to American zeal for the welfare of the Negro and every desire to see it freed from the reproach of tolerating within its borders conditions akin to slavery, and from disorder and confusion in its fiscal affairs. The agreement reached is that this country will give its moral support to President BARCLAY in working out plans which are regarded as realizing substantially the program of reforms which the United States has been urging on the African country. Liberia's President is to appoint a foreign adviser to supervise the fulfilment of the reform program, but he will be directly responsible to the Liberian Executive instead of to the League of Nations. It is an arrangement worked out in the "good neighbor" spirit creditable to Secretary HULL.

Liberian Cotton Plantations Are Leased to Poland

Afro-American
Philadelphia
Baltimore
7-13-35

50 Land Areas Leased by Government to European Capitalists.

REDS IN PROPAGANDA PACT WITH ENGLAND

Asiatics and W. Africans Not to Be Organized.

(By Special Correspondent)

LONDON (By Mail) — The latest commercial development in connection with West Africa is the agreement between Poland and Liberia for cotton concessions, and the withdrawal of Soviet Russia from competition with British-made textile goods in the African colonies.

According to the terms of the Polish - Liberian agreement, a group of Polish capitalists have recently acquired concessions covering fifty cotton plantations from the Liberian Government. It is stated that several of these plantations are already in active operation, and others will be placed on a productive basis as soon a market can be arranged for the cotton in Poland.

Anglo-Soviet Pact

The Anglo-Soviet commercial pact relates to the regulation of trade. Russia, desirous of maintaining the closest friendship with England, who has suffered considerably from Japanese competition in her African colonies, in order to win the support of the British capitalist class against Germany and Japan, has agreed to stop her exports of textile and cotton goods to West Africa.

She has also agreed to put a ban on all forms of revolutionary activities of the blacks as well as of the Indians and other colonial peoples of Asia.

Russian exports to West African markets have been averaging around 15,000,000 square yards per annum. A good deal of the business is said to have been done through British exporting houses.

Tariff Restrictions on Jap Goods

The measures taken last year to help the Lancashire cotton trade with the Crown Colonies by imposing quotas on foreign imports had only one defect so far as West Africa was concerned. They applied only to Japan, whereas in the other Crown Colonies, they applied to all foreign countries. The reason for this was the fear that West Africa's trade with neighboring possessions of other countries might be affected.

British Exports Up

Exports of British cotton goods to West Africa in the first four months of this year were 100 per cent greater than in the same period last year. A further advance can be expected when the Russian contracts run out.

Republic of Liberia

DEATH OF EX-PRESIDENT HOWARD.

One of Liberia's Ablest Statesmen.

West Africa 8-24-35

We regret to record the death of the Hon. Daniel Edward Howard, President of the Liberian Republic from 1911 to 1919, which took place at his Monrovia residence on July 19 last, at the age of 74. Mr. Howard had been in failing health for some years past, and the end was not unexpected.

Born at Grand Bassa in 1861, Howard entered the Government service at an early age, and after holding various subordinate offices with credit, was appointed Secretary of the Treasury in 1906. Five years later he was elected to the Presi-



dency in succession to the Hon. Arthur Barclay, and in 1915 was re-elected for a further term of four years. His tenure of office coincided with the World War, and during those perilous years, when Liberia's existence as an independent State was frequently endangered, he discharged the duties of his office with courage, tact, and dignity. It may be recalled here that in 1916, before Liberia joined the Allies, President Howard addressed a personal letter to the Editor of this journal, thanking THE AFRICAN WORLD for its vindication of Liberia's position as a neutral, and reiterating Liberian friendship towards Great Britain. "Our confidence that the traditional friendly attitude of Great Britain towards Liberia will be maintained is now reassured," he wrote. "Believe that I voice the sentiments of every Liberian when I reiterate our sincere thanks for your chivalrous defence of us."

The funeral took place at the First Methodist Episcopal Church, Monrovia, on July 20, and was attended by leading officials of the Liberian Government and members of the Diplomatic and Consular Corps. A salute of twenty-one guns was fired at the time of the interment.

Race Problem – 1935
Book Reviews.

New York World Telegram

FEB 12 1935

The First Reader



By

HARRY HANSEN

Negro Is Not Inferior.
He Needs an Equal Chance.
Tragedy of Black Haiti.
Fight Against Lynching.

SENSATIONAL news comes today by way of a book published by Otto Klineberg, of Columbia University, who contends, with figures, that the idea that the Negro race is congenitally inferior to the white is pure fabrication. He explodes the myth that the Negro can't learn, swats the idea that the Northern Negro is, by nature, superior to the Southern Negro and says that Negro children, Southern-born and Northern-bred, come within 10 per cent of the intelligence of Northern-born white children in five years.

Such an astonishing discovery must send shivers down the spines of those whites who still repeat the platitude about the inferiority of the Negro. But it won't shock those who have observed the march of the Negro toward a high intelligence. It would not have astonished the late Julius Rosenwald, who used to give money to Negro Y. M. C. A. buildings, Tuskegee and small parish schools in the South.

In fact, there are thousands of white Americans who have known this all the time. They have no statistics like Dr. Klineberg's, but they have the confidence of prolonged observation. Dr. Klineberg goes even farther—he says that the inferiority of Negroes to whites would disappear in time if the environment of whites and Negroes could be equalized.

He shows that Negro children who come North improve rapidly—they get into schools and pick up learning. He shows that there is no ground for believing that Negroes in the South are a backward lot, unable to move forward. I have met graduates of Tuskegee who are wholly Southern, and who bear this out.

He calls his book "Negro Intelligence and Selective Migration," and if you want to learn more about it the Columbia University Press will provide it for $1.25. It was prepared under the auspices of the Columbia University Council for Research in the Social Sciences. Dr. Klineberg is a member of the Department of Sociology.

* * *

Tragic End of "The Black Consul."

IT'S a long and bitter tale—this tale of the hardships to which the black man has been subjected. I think one of the most appealing and effective disclosures of recent times is the novel "The Black Consul," which has just been published in translation from the Russian. It was written by Anatolii Vinogradov, and is said to be the first novel by a Soviet Russian which deals with the history of another nation.

The Black Consul was Toussaint L'Ouverture. He left Haiti with a delegation of blacks and mulattoes to ask an end of slavery in the island. He appealed to the new spirit of fairness, to liberty, fraternity and equality, which came in with the French Revolution. But the Revolution was for the white man, not the black.

The delegates were hounded out of Paris. Some were killed. Breda, a physician, was an important man—he was made governor under Napoleon, the First Consul, but when he reached Haiti he discovered that Napoleon's brother-in-law, General Leclerc, did not intend to let the blacks get far. Breda became known as Toussaint L'Ouverture.

What a story of misery, torture, suffering under French rule! The French were exploiting the West Indies for everything they could get. The blacks sweated on plantations and bowed under the overseer's whip. This sounds like old stuff out of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," doesn't it? Yet our South never practiced toward the Negro the cruelty that Vinogradov chalks up against the French of Napoleon's time.

* * *

Chance for Americans to Help.

AS a Russian communist Vinogradov has an object in writing this novel. He is interpreting history in terms of the greed for plunder which animated the foreign policy of France. He is showing how the white race subjected the Negro to endless humiliation, and he is exploiting the subject so that the Soviet may in time profit if the Negroes should rise. The Negro looms big in all plans Russians make for the embarrassment of other governments, just as he looms big in the frescoes of Diego Rivera at the Workers' School.

But all that does not absolve white Americans of today. We have a duty toward the Negro, simply because we are in a position to help him. The cruelties practiced in San Domingo and Haiti and described in "The Black Consul" (Viking, $2.75), are not being practiced in the United States. The worst blot on our shield is lynching. And we who close our eyes to crimes committed in far distant places are guilty in a degree if we do not bring what pressure we can to have it abolished.

On Thursday, two days after the birthday of Abraham Lincoln, which we observe today as a national anniversary, a hearing on the Costigan-Wagner anti-lynching bill will begin before the Judiciary Committee of the United States Senate. Constitutional lawyers will plead the legal facets of the bill. H. L. Mencken and other leaders of public opinion will support it in person.

How can you and I do anything about this? By exerting opinion. By writing the President of the United States, urging passage of the bill. By writing the Senators of the State and the Congressman of our district. And by enlisting the help of friends and organizations to help remove the weakness in our administrative structure, a weakness by which those who seek to overthrow democracy confidently hope to profit.

For the Negro is not an enemy; he is a friend. In fact, he is very likely to be America's last and most important asset.

DON'T YOU WEEP, DON'T YOU MOAN, by Richard Coleman. Macmillan Co., New York. 288 pp. $2.50.

Reviewed by MONICA DEMPSEY WRIGHT

When Lasses first came to Charleston from one of the sea islands nearby she was a simple country Negress of the cotton fields, who knew nothing of city ways. Charleston was a revelation to her; the white folks' mansions dazzled her. She was taken by Mrs. Hugare (of the ancient and honorable Hugares) as a maid. The Hugare "yard house" became her new home. Here also were qartered Missy, cook in the Big House, Glory, Missy's sister, and Tater, Missy's son. They were all definitely white folks' Negroes, and respected themselves as such.

Lasses did not take long to catch on to city ways. Tater was a young buck, mighty loving. His sweetheart was Crissy, a high yellow wench, who set the style in Charleston. She had woven her unholy spell around Tater; but Lasses changed all this.

From the first Lasses and Tater were drawn to each other, and Crissy was jealous. Others were attracted to Lasses besides Tater. Froggy Lesesne, who "makes mo' tears in Charleston den funerals do", was smitten by her charms, as also were hot-headed Gad-Fly and numerous black swains. However, Tater was her man. She might for the moment succumb to the seductions of other wooers but she was always thinking of Tater.

It was he who took her to her first town dance at Joe Manigault's house, where she astonished all by her Terpsichorean art. That she had inherited this talent from her ancestors in the depth of Africa never occurred to the admiring throng; but from then on her popularity was made in Charleston.

Tater had a hard time establishing his right to her. Crissy was meddling and always trying to reclaim him, her former sweetheart. Crissy was clever. Always she knew how to tease and torment Tater until from pure vexation she could attract him away from the Lasses he really loved. Crissy's triumph was usually short-lived, but while it lasted Lasses was most unhappy.

The swirl of town life sweeps Lasses up but she holds her own admirably. Crissy must always be outwitted. The romance of Tater and Lasses is pictured realistically. Evidently the sensuous light-heartedness of the Negro is as well understood as the violence and savagery inherent in every black man.

The scenes around Charleston are pleasantly drawn. The old stately houses set well back behind brick walls, Tradd Street, the Battery, are all touched upon with light and knowing affection. But it is modern Negro Charleston that Coleman writes of. The young bucks with their Ford cars, the mulattoes who pluck their evebrows and wave their straightened hair.

TODAY'S BOOK

OLLIE MISS, by George Henderson. Frederick A. Stokes Co., New York. 276 pp. $2.50.

Reviewed by GEORGE PINDAR

Those who liked Scarlet Sister Mary and Porgy (and they include the present reviewer) will like this book. The author is a Negro, but is not obsessed with racial questions. The novel is free from taint of propaganda, deals with simple black folk of the countryside, and the story is told with a pleasing unaffectedness.

Ollie, it seems, "begged her victuals at the white folks' kitchens, and worked a day or two in the white folks' fields to get money for cigarette tobacco and an occasional bottle of corn whisky." But on the Spring day when she appeared at Uncle Alex's cabin door, barefoot, and carrying her possessions in a bundle over her shoulder, her tramping was over. Uncle Alex was a good old colored farmer of the old school, and found Ollie to be as sturdy a plowhand as Shell, Slaughter and Willie, his other hands. She spoke respectfully, and minded her own business. Her needs were few: a cabin (which she kept spotlessly clean), a table, bed, and chair; food, and sometimes a little small change.

It further appeared, however, that Ollie was young and slim, walked with the ease and grace of a cat; and there was something of challenge in her vivid black eyes. She became the unwitting object of amorous stirrings in more than one swarthy breast. Slaughter was smitten; but she singled out little Willie for company, and Slaughter was left to mope at nights in his cabin with Shell, counting the minutes after midnight when Willie would return.

Little Willie too was forgotten when her old flame, Jule, appeared on the scene one night at camp meeting. Ollie had gone alone, and had threaded her way through the booths around the church, lighted by blinking kerosene lamps, past the open fires where fresh fish were sizzling, past the guitar-player, who sang with a lazy, half-crazed rhythm. The crowds were straggling into the church for the singing when she spied his familiar figure leaning against a sweetgum tree. She stopped dead, her eyes blurred; and she swayed. Then she rushed forward, grasped the errant lover by the hand, and took him home to her cabin.

Next day the swashbuckling Jule left her to return to Rhoba, where his new girl lived. But at the next night of the camp-meeting Ollie found him again under the sweetgum tree. This time a fight-hungry crowd had gathered; the girl from Rhoba was standing before Jule with a razor concealed in her hand beneath the folds of her dress, menacingly demanding to know Jule's whereabouts on the night before. Ollie stepped forward, faced the girl, and said, "He

stayed wid me, Miss."

The Rhoba girl's eyes blazed.

"And jes who might you be?"

"Dey calls me Ollie Miss, ef dat means anything to you."

The Rhoba girl's razor flashed, and Ollie fell to the ground.

In the confusion, the girl from Rhoba disappeared, and so did Jule. Uncle Alex, Shell, Slaughter and Willie took Ollie home, where they spelled the women of the farm in jealousy caring for her during a long convalescence. When the doctor found Ollie was going to have a child, Uncle Alex gave her the twelve acres surrounding her cabin to farm for herself. Jule appeared again, with offers of marriage, but a change had taken place in Ollie. The cabin, the twelve acres, and the child were enough for her; she did not want Jule or anyone else.

George Henderson, of course, has risen intellectually far above the simple, child-like people he writes about, but it is easy to believe he must have once lived among them and known them at first hand. The book is filled with a sense of nearness to the earth and the elements, and warm feeling for personal values.

Chattanooga, Tenn.
NEWS

FEB 8 1935

The Negro's Views

Editor The News:

The Julius Rosenwald fund is having the publishers mail you a copy of Dr. James Weldon Johnson's book, "Negro Americans, What Now?" You will find it interesting, I am sure, as revealing the views of an able Negro leader on a subject just now much in the minds of thoughtful members of the race.

R. B. ELEAZER.
Commission on Interracial Cooperation.
Atlanta, Ga., Februarv 7

WINTER HAVEN, FLA.
CHIEF

MAR 6 1935

"THE OTHER SIDE OF THE SOUTH."

A truly remarkable book has come to our desk and we have gained much inspiration and information from its reading. We refer to "The Other Side of the South" by Elvy E. Calloway, prominent lawyer of Lakeland, Fla., a man of southern birth who writes the most dispassionate treatise on the joys and ills of his beloved Dixie that we have ever been privileged to peruse. Calloway comes of an old Alabama family, his ancestors having settled in the South more than two centuries ago, but his outlook is that of a cosmopolitan and a liberal who is not shackled by the chains of political, religious or social prejudice and who uses his book as a vehicle to promote good will and understanding between North and South and particularly between the white race and the negro. Many of his opinions are startling and radical, especially to the conservative Southern mind accustomed to accept the dicta of the democratic party and the leading Protestant churches as ex cathedra utterances from which there can be no recourse and against which there should be no criticism. Calloway, brought up in the Baptist faith, is now a courageous non-conformist, and his criticisms of the Southern churches in their restricted outlook and the part they have played in bolstering pseudo religious-political causes and schemes are well taken and not easily controverted. He may be a little strong at times (according to the Southern mind) in his harpooning of the old church influence in the South but he is honest and consistent and displays a really reverent spirit in discussing the need for a great faith based on humanitarianism as preached by Jesus of Nazareth. His treatment of the "one-party" system in the South is logical and will undoubtedly get the thinking processes to going in the minds of many democrats, but he doesn't hesitate to lay the blame for the situation on both parties, showing that they have erred greatly in their treatment of the southern white man and the negro, as well. But it is in the field of sociological research as regards the two races that Calloway rises to the heights of statesmanship and emerges as a great prophet of racial equity (not equality) in the attitude of the white man toward his humbler brother-man. He sees the negro as a race that has made marvelous advances from the days of slavery, yet still groping and unable to fill its proper place in the economic and social scheme of things in America because of too many restrictions and inhibitions placed by prejudice and misunderstanding which have come down for generations to plague the South. Calloway takes a courageous stand for the education of the negro along the broadest lines, for his right to vote and serve on juries if intelligent or educated (he would deny ignorant white men such rights, also), and for the broadening of the field of his endeavors, economically and industrially, so that he may be able to contribute more worthily to the life of the land in which he lives, not by his own desire, but through the machinations of white men who brought him here. There are many other admirable points about Calloway's book which time and space do not permit us to review. Suffice it to say that he has made a real contribution to the twentieth century literature of the South and we trust that not only Southerners, but Northerners as well, will read it carefully. It may "get under the skin" of most of those who read it but it will make them think and possibly act, and in such thinking and such acting lies the hope of the South for the future.

TODAY'S BOOK

NEGRO INTELLIGENCE AND SELECTIVE MIGRATION, By Otto Klineberg. Columbia University Press, New York, 83 pp. $1.25.

Reviewed by A. B. BERND

Intelligence tests taken in the army during the War indicated a notable superiority of Northern Negroes over those who lived in the South. The reason for the difference has long been a matter of dispute. Most of the Yankee black boys tested were comparatively recent comers to the North from southern regions. Had only the mentally better element, the more alert and aggressive, made the migration? Or had the improved living condition of the trans-Potomac stimulated possibilities latent in every dusky breast, Confederate-born or Union?

This was the question Dr. Klineberg set himself to answer. With the aid of a few of his pupils in Columbia University, he made extensive investigations of the qualities of Negro school children. He compared their records before and after the northward trek. He set current northern figures against current southern ones. He arranged averages in the order of length of residence in the North, and used many different methods of research—the National Inteligence Test, the Stanford-Binet, the Otis Self-administering Examination, the Minnesota Paper Form Board, the Performance Scale of Pintner-Paterson—all of them investigational means familiar to the sociologist.

His tables together with illustrative graphs are set forth in this study. The resulting conclusions are reassuring to any unprejudiced observer of the Negro race, and undeniably disconcerting to the professional Southerner:

There is no demonstrable connection between skin color and intelligence—which means that an intermixture of white blood with Negro does not necessarily mean mental superiority.

"Length of residence in a favorable environment plays an important part in the intellectual level of the Negro children."

"The Negro who leaves the South for the North is not on the average superior to the Negro who remains behind, and . . . the present superiority of the northern over the southern Negro may be explained by the more favorable environment, rather than by selective migration."

The deduction from Dr. Klineberg's findings is inevitable: The inferiority of the Negro in the South is due, not to any natural lack of capacity, but to the low standard of living forced on him, the denial of opportunity to him. If the South doubts this statement, let the South read Dr. Klineberg's book and be convinced.

stayed wid me, miss."

The Rhoba girl's eyes blazed.

"And jes who might you be?"

"Dey calls me Ollie Miss, ef dat means anything to you."

The Rhoba girl's razor flashed, and Ollie fell to the ground.

In the confusion, the girl from Rhoba disappeared, and so did Jule. Uncle Alex, Shell, Slaughter and Willie took Ollie home, where they spelled the women of the farm in jealousy caring for her during a long convalescence. When the doctor found Ollie was going to have a child, Uncle Alex gave her the twelve acres surrounding her cabin to farm for herself. Jule appeared again, with offers of marriage, but a change had taken place in Ollie. The cabin, the twelve acres, and the child were enough for her; she did not want Jule or anyone else.

George Henderson, of course, has risen intellectually far above the simple, child-like people he writes about, but it is easy to believe he must have once lived among them and known them at first hand. The book is filled with a sense of nearness to the earth and the elements, and warm feeling for personal values.

Chattanooga, Tenn.
NEWS

FEB 8 1935

The Negro's Views

Editor The News:

The Julius Rosenwald fund is having the publishers mail you a copy of Dr. James Weldon Johnson's book, "Negro Americans, What Now?" You will find it interesting, I am sure, as revealing the views of an able Negro leader on a subject just now much in the minds of thoughtful members of the race.

R. B. ELEAZER.
Commission on Interracial Cooperation.
Atlanta, Ga., Februarv 7

WINTER HAVEN, FLA.
CHIEF

MAR 0 1935

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Race Problem – 1935

Book Reviews

ALTHOUGH Mr. Erskine Caldwell is the most distinguished modern novelist to come out of Georgia, his native state has never hailed his writings with any great enthusiasm. Going to the poor whites of the backwods and pine barrens for material, rejecting the moonlight and magnolias of the plantation tradition, his books have aroused the anger and resentment of many Georgians. He was charged with an excessively lurid imagination and with creating a race of subhumans the like of which was never seen in Tobacco Road or elsewhere. Recently Mr. Caldwell, reëxamining Governor Talmadge's domain in a series of articles for The New York Post, reported conditions equal to anything described in his books. Thereupon The Chronicle, a morning newspaper published in Augusta, Georgia, decided to conduct an investigation of its own. It sent two members of its staff into the immediate rural districts to discover the true nature of affairs. The reporters returned, not with a clean bill of health, but with evidence substantiating many of Caldwell's charges—and, what is perhaps the most surprising feature of the entire incident, The Chronicle published their findings.

What we have seen, coupled with the information we have obtained from other sources, leads to the conclusion that there exist families in utter need of rehabilitation. . . . The number of these families in the so-called Sand Hill section of the county is variously estimated from 10 to 12 to 35. . . . Regardless of the figure, maximum or minimum, it is still true that the persons referred to by Erskine Caldwell form a portion of the population of Jefferson County. Most of these people are not only poor but wretched. . . . There are some instances of dire degeneration. . . . On one occasion, a doctor who was questioned said, he answered a call to one of these families late at night. He was surprised to see all members of the family rush to the door fully clothed. Immediately he suspected they were not in the habit of undressing and he asked how often his patient had a bath and a change of clothes. "About once a month," was the reply.

The Chronicle points out, with entire truthfulness, that the people described, like Jeeter Lester, are not "typical" of the average Georgia tenant farmer. But Mr. Caldwell, if we have read his books correctly, does not intend his shiftless patriarch to be considered "typical" in that sense of the word, but rather "representative" of a certain section of Southern society. Charges of undue exaggeration against him may now be dropped. The investigation of The Chronicle has definitely established that there are Jeeter Lesters in the world and that something should be done to remedy the conditions under which they are forced to live. We congratulate The Chronicle, not only for conducting its investigation, but for its courage in publishing its conclusions.

Along Tobacco Road

Big, round-headed Author Erskine Caldwell (*Tobacco Road, God's Little Acre*) lived in Georgia until about ten years ago when he moved to Maine. Either State would gladly cede him to the other. He outraged his New England neighbors by announcing that "the [Maine] population is dying out from the top as well as from the bottom." His annual visits to his homeland affect civic-proud Georgians as the coming of the boll weevil. Regularly he infuriates them by writing of terrorized Negroes, of poverty, ignorance, depravity, degeneracy among the poor whites. Latest indignity was his series of articles for the loudly liberal New York *Post* on the misery of starving sharecroppers near Augusta. In savage detail he described family after family—hungry, diseased decayed, hopeless (TIME, March 4).

Quivering with rage the Southern Press shouted "Libel!" But the 150-year-old Augusta *Chronicle* ("The South's Oldest Newspaper") restrained itself. Withholding epithets and stock denials, the *Chronicle's* Editor Thomas J. Hamilton promised to investigate the Caldwell charges to report accurately, fearlessly. With the author's father, Rev. Ira Sylvester Caldwell of nearby Wrens, Ga. as guide, two *Chronicle* newshawks scoured the bleak "sand hill" section between Wrens and Keysville—setting for *Tobacco Road*. True to promise, the *Chronicle* front-paged their findings in five straightforward reports which, in any Northern publication, might well have drawn the hot fire of Southern boosters. Dutifully the investigators described the worst cases they found:

¶ A family of 16 occupy a ramshackle two-room house, operating a farm as tenants. Rent: 800 lb. of cotton a year. Last year's crop was four bales. After paying two bales for rent and two for fertilizer and funds advanced, the year's profit was 62¢.

¶ Mother, son, imbecile daughter and her two children live in squalor in a one-room house on 40¢ a day when the son can find work. The daughter, again pregnant, freely admitted various parentage of her children, the father of one being the girl's cousin.

¶ Father is unable to work because of heart trouble. Mother, 60, so weak from malnutrition that sometimes she can hardly walk, plods ten miles to Wrens to beg a little food. Son, 21, also suffering from undernourishment, has had twelve days relief work since Christmas at $1.20 a day. This family shares its two ragcovered, rickety beds with a young woman who had nowhere else to turn. When the reporters called, not a scrap of food was in the house. All they ever have is cornbread; the meal barrel was empty.

The *Chronicle* found about a dozen such families, some afflicted with venereal disease. Father Caldwell said there might be 35 such families in Jefferson County—about 1% of the population. Said the *Chronicle:* "We have been told, and we believe, that investigation in any area would produce a similar proportion of human derelicts—dregs of civilization."

More shocking was the *Chronicle's* further belief that "the families visited are descendants of parents who lived in the same manner, are products of a combination of poverty, utter ignorance and interbreeding of families, through generations. . . . It was found that many people in Jefferson County know the families, and have known of their condition for years. . . .

"Relief agencies contribute to these people . . . . where blanket rules permit. . . . Ignorance and stubborn reserve frequently cause the most needy families to refuse medical aid or food to satisfy their want. Cases have been reported in which blankets and like articles, sorely needed by the sufferers, have been sold as soon as they were received from relief agencies."

The *Chronicle's* conclusions: The condition of Jefferson County's lowly 1% is beyond the help of relief agencies. Long-range rehabilitation, geared to individual cases, is the only remedy. "They need education not only in the accepted manner but on moral codes of civilization of which they are not a part." Treatment indicated: Sterilization, provided by a bill passed by the Georgia House and pending before the Senate.

JAPONICA GROVE, by Mary Barrow Linfield. Doubleday, Doran & Company, Garden City, New York. 282 pp. $2.50.

Reviewed by PLANT ELLIS

Japonica Grove is a Reconstruction day story. This seems to be old wine; but this old wine is in a bottle that is new and unusual because of its sheer beauty, its delicately cut glass being the work of an agile craftsman. Author Linfield employs an over worked formula—the love of a Confederate daughter and a Union soldier. Her conception of the crumbling post-war days, however, is so exquisitely written that I even resented the fact that the action was so fascinating my interest would not permit lingering over the more beautiful passages. Who could feign indifference to a heroine described as a 'gem seen through a clear cold pane of glass"; or to her lover, who, compared to his less attractive companions, is "a silver poplar between two loblolly pines". Such figures of speech are lavishly flung across the pages.

The Louisiana bayou country, the scene of an economic collapse after the Civil War, is the home of Madame D'Ey, her granddaughter Zelie, and two young cousins just returned from war. They desperately endeavor to maintain a semblance of the once dignified, gracious Southern civilization; but how hopeless, since on their plantations the portraits are cut to pieces, the rugs defaced by molasses, the cattle slaughtered, and the Negroes inflamed!

John, one of the cousins, is in love with Zelie, as is the handsome, honest Union officer, Avgan. At first the focal point of the story is the capture of a child by the Negroes (and the writer can truly speak their lingo!) This causes the subsequent mortgaging, in order to secure ransom money, of John's lovely plantation, Japonica Grove, to a greedy politician. Once under obligation to this racketeering moneylender, the family is trapped. Its mansion is burned, immediately after a brilliant old-fashioned ball. The smell of blood pervades the entire action, but the book is far from disagreeable.

The historical material in this first novel by Miss Linfield is authentic. Her family has been connected with the history of Louisiana since its pre-state days, and she has probably hungrily devoured, since her childhood, the tales told by her kinsmen of the carpet-bagger era.

(Japonica Grove is published today.)

Notable History.

THE EVE OF CONFLICT: STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS AND THE NEEDLESS WAR. By George Fort Milton. 608 pp. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. $5.

George Fort Milton needs no introduction to that large class of readers who are familiar with his earlier volume, "The Age of Hate." In fact those who read that book on Andrew Johnson and the reconstruction period were eagerly awaiting the publication of this more recent volume on Stephen A. Douglas and the backgrounds of the American Civil War. Mr. Milton, while not a formally trained professional historian, has written history which the professional historians have received with acclaim; and at the same time he has won a host of readers which the professional historian rarely reaches. His free and easy journalistic style, developed through years of writing for and in editing a

daily newspaper, together with the accuracy and thoroughness of his scholarship, enable him to make the broad appeal to both casual reader and the close student of history.

"The Eve of Conflict: Stephen A. Douglas and the Needless War" is not just another biography of the "Little Giant," but rather a study of Douglas' career in relation to the events of the ten years immediately preceding the outbreak of the Civil War and Douglas' efforts to avert that conflict. The work therefore cannot be compared to Allen Johnson's biography of Douglas, for it is much wider in scope than a mere biography. Neither can it be compared with A. C. Cole's recent volume, "The Irrepressible Conflict," which covers almost the identical period of time, but approaches the backgrounds of the Civil War almost wholly from the social, cultural and economic life of the people. Rather, Mr. Milton most successfully weaves together the career of Douglas and the political history of the United States from the Compromise of 1850 to the beginning of the great conflict, which all but destroyed the Union the Compromise had been designed to perpetuate. The central theme of the book, however, is Douglas' career, not the political history of the period.

Opening with a vivid pen picture of Douglas as a United States senator, the book recounts the events, sometimes tragic, sometimes ludicrous but always stirring and dramatic, from 1850 to 1861. Douglas is portrayed as laboring heart and soul for the Compromise of 1850 only to reopen the slavery issue in the territories four years later with his bill to organize the great hinterland of Kansas-Nebraska; thus setting aside the Missouri Compromise of 1820 which forbade slavery in the Louisiana Purchase north of 36-30. This questionable move on Douglas' part led to a split in the democratic party, the organization of the republican party, and the bitter war in Kansas. Douglas bravely defended the principle of popular or "squatter" sovereignty in Kansas and aroused the wrath of Buchanan and the southern leaders of the democratic party, who stood by and hoped for, if they did not encourage, his defeat in his contest with Lincoln. Then in 1860 Buchanan and the machine politicians determined to block Douglas' nomination by the democratic party in convention at Charleston. The party was split and three tickets were put in the field against Lincoln. The republicans were successful. South Carolina seceded from the Union, and Lincoln refused to make any concession to the Confederacy. Douglas, ever faithful and loyal to the nation, cast his lot with Lincoln and endeavored to preserve the Union. This in brief is the main story told by the author.

Contrary to those historians who hold with William H. Seward that the Civil War was the result of an "irrepressible conflict" between the north and the south, between free and slave labor, and between two distinct civilizations, Mr. Milton views that great conflict as the result of the interplay of politics and personal motives which turned at times upon relatively insignificant factors, and he holds that the war was a needless one. For instance he suggests that had James Buchanan and the members of the democratic machine not developed a bitter hatred for Douglas the democratic convention at Charleston would not have split in 1860; had not the democratic party put three tickets in the field Douglas, not Lincoln, would certainly have been elected president of the United States; and had Douglas been elected South Carolina would not have seceded and the Civil War would not have been fought.

Accept Mr. Milton's premises and one must inevitably accept his conclusions. But this makes historical interpretation too easy. There were too many factors involved to single out one or two and then with some "ifs" discard the others. To take the other horn of the dilemma, however, and say that the war was inevitable leads one against a stone wall. If men can do nothing to control their affairs, if they must accept what fate has in store for them, then indeed they might supinely accept what is without a struggle.

But there is a middle ground between the two extremes. Could conditions have been controlled from the beginning of the conflict of interests between the two sections, then events might have been directed and the war averted. But with the bitterness which had developed by 1850, the reviewer does not believe a satisfactory compromise could have been worked out; thereafter the south stood on the Georgia platform which the north, feeling as it did, could not accept. The secession of South Carolina and the Civil War were but the result of a logical sequence of events following the impasse of 1850. In fact the train of events set in motion by the radical abolitionists developed two antagonistic parties with conflicting interests and neither could willingly yield to the other. And by 1860 the north and the south had developed two separate civilizations and the south, in her own mind at least, was a nation in her own right. These factors Mr. Milton seems to ignore in the explanation he offers in "The Eve of Conflict." He also fails to give proper emphasis to group interests, class conflicts and economic forces.

Mr. Milton has produced a notable book in spite of the criticisms offered in this review. He has brought to light much new material on the causes of the Civil War. So great an array of information is presented that the book becomes tedious and tiresome in spots. One feels also that Mr. Milton has come almost to the point of accepting Douglas at his own valuation and is inclined to give him undue credit. Again he condones in Douglas the same tactics which he condemns in Douglas' enemies. Yet the reader cannot doubt Douglas' honesty, sincerity of purpose and love for the Union. Despite his desire for the presidency Douglas placed the national interest above and before his own elevation. No one who desires to understand the interplay of personal motives and political forces which lay behind the outbreak of the Civil War can afford not to read "The Eve of Conflict."

—FLETCHER M. GREEN.

About Books

In a Class by Itself

OF ALL the journals of opinion currently published in this country, The New Masses stands in a class by itself. Increasingly it is becoming a weekly necessity for anyone who desires a realistic interpretation of social, economic and cultural developments in this country. Where other publications remain silent in the face of insidious abuses The New Masses speaks out in clear and unmistakable condemnation. Where others tend to gloss over new and ancient evils, this magazine tears away the veil of pretense and hypocrisy and exposes the true nature and roots of all forms of oppression against the masses.

Especially are the Negroes of America indebted to The New Masses for its uncompromising stand against the special forms of oppression designed to keep us at the bottom of the social and economic ladder. In recent months The New Masses has published three contributions which in themselves demonstrate the value of this organ in the movement for the liberation of oppressed peoples. The first of these was John Spivak's series on Anti-Semitism in the country; the second, Loren Miller's "Mail Order Dictatorship," an expose of the strangle hold the Rosenwald Fund has secured over Negro leadership; and currently, Margeurite Young's series on "Washington—Jim-Crow Capital."

While Mr. Spivak's articles did not deal with the immediate problems of the Negro, it is well to remember that the forces which make for Anti-Semitism are essentially the same of those which breed prejudice against the Negro. This in spite of the fact that one occasionally meets individuals bitterly opposed to Jews who apparently are sincerely friendly towards the Negro. The point to remember is that racial prejudice as an organized thing is a dangerous threat to all minorities.

Mr. Miller, a newspaper man and lawyer of Los Angeles, analyze with cold objectivity the vitiating influence of the Rosenwald Fund. The role of this fund and the collaboration it has secured from the Federal Government in shaping policies concerning the Negro are set forth with startling clarity.

The ramifications of Jim-Crowism in Washington are revealed by Miss Young in her series which began with the current number of magazine. Racial separation permeates all walks of life in the nation's capital, Miss Young asserts, and cites incontestable evidence in support of her charges. While the facts that she points out are generally known by Negroes, it is well to have them broadcast in order to expose the sham and hypocrisy which prevail within the shadow of Capitol Dome.

An organ of the Communist party, The New Masses is committed to "following the party line." This sometimes leads it into difficult positions, such as the paradox of bitterly scoring Hitler's bloody purge on the one hand, while on the other hand defending the unwarranted executions by Soviet authorities following the assassination of Kirov. But the discerning reader will recognize this as adherence to a rigid party discipline and will discount it accordingly.

What is of far greater importance is the outstanding position. The New Masses has gained as an effective organ in the fight against exploitation, against racial discrimination, against sham of all sorts. It is the one magazine which this reviewer never fails to read regularly.—H. L. M.

DuBOIS POINTS THE WAY—

Back in the schoolroom, Dr. DuBois has pointed the way for the Negro college of the future. The New York Times' review of his recent book, "Black Reconstruction," says that "Of the Negro's part in reconstruction it is beyond question the most painstaking and thorough study ever made."

I say that Dr. DuBois has pointed the way for the Negro college because as a professor at Atlanta University, he has taken a practical problem from which Negroes suffer (propaganda and misrepresentation of the truth about the Negro's part in reconstruction) and, instead of accepting and helping further to entrench that problem, has made a contribution to its solution, which the entire nation must respect, if it does not approve.

How many Negro leaders, especially those who have been trained in our colleges, have you heard say that they don't blame the white folks for taking away the Negro's franchise during reconstruction? I have heard many of them. They have read what Claude Bowers or some other white man has written about what the Negro did during reconstruction, and they have taken this as the whole truth.

Dr. DuBois explodes the lies that have been told and places the Reconstruction Negro in his proper light and setting. This is the only kind of leadership that is worthy of the Negro college. It should be extended to every problem in the Negro community.

Race Problem—1935
Book Reviews-

New York Evening Post

JUN 14 1935

Books on Our Table

Reconstruction Seen From the Angle of Karl Marx's Ideas

By HERSCHEL BRICKELL

A COMPLETELY original study of the post-Civil War period that left far deeper marks upon the South than the war itself is to be found in W. E. Burghardt Du Bois's "Black Reconstruction," which is in many respects a remarkable book, regardless of what one may think of its thesis.

To begin with, of course, it is the first thorough-going history of the times written by a Negro, which would in itself make the book a matter of considerable interest. But, to go on with, it is an attempt at a Marxian interpretation of the events following the tragedy.

I suspect, since I was born a Southerner and since I am said by my many and faithful Communist correspondents to know nothing of the writings of Karl Marx, that whatever I say on the subject will be treated scornfully without even an examination by some people.

This doesn't worry me at all, however, so I'll say it. I have never come across a more completely fantastic attempt at applying Marxian dogma to history than is to be found in Dr. Du Bois's valuable volume, which I read with the keenest interest and with no inconsiderable enlightenment.

I say fantastic for a single reason: The freed slaves in the South did not constitute by the farthest stretch of the imagination a Marxian proletariat rising in its might and seizing power. There was undeniably a small, educated and disciplined Negro leadership, but the body of the slaves were wholly unfitted for the tasks of self-government, nor could they have been so fitted in a generation or two under the most auspicious circumstances.

I speak only of the immediate circumstances and am not reflecting in any way upon the potentialities of the race to which the slaves belonged.

Also, Dr. Du Bois believes that if the military dictatorship set up under the reconstruction policy could have been continued long enough Negroes and downtrodden whites would have ben able to establish a "dictatorship of the proletariat" whose existence might have altered the whole course of recent history, even to preventing the World War!

✦ ✦ ✦

Democracy by Force

Of course, it is quite impossible to try to refute such a theory, because nothing of the sort happened, nor could it conceivably have happened, because of many factors of which Dr. Du Bois takes full account. It is only possible to say, therefore, that there seems to me a familiar catch in the proposition.

This is that a military dictatorship, which in the circumstances could only have been maintained over a long period at a tremendous cost in money and men, would have eventuated into a peaceful workers' state. It is a perfectly familiar Marxian theory, to be sure, but it remains to be demonstrated in action in circumstances far less difficult than existed in this country during the sixties and seventies. Shall we expect figs from thistles?

It seems to me, therefore, that Dr. Du Bois has gone about as far afield in his effort to rewrite the history of Reconstruction as is humanly possible.

When, however, he asserts that a good history of the period remains to be written I am in full agreement with him, although I am perfectly well aware that Southerners are supposed to believe every melodramatic word Thomas Dixon Jr. wrote on the subject.

Even when young, it seemed to me Mr. Dixon was a very bad novelist and also guilty of great exaggeration. My later reading on the period, which has been considerable, has annoyed me by being too full of heat and not nearly full enough of light.

I felt this deeply when I read Claude Bowers's "The Tragic Era." The question now is whether by taking an entirely unique slant on the situation, however weird it may seem to some of us non-Marxians, Dr. Du Bois has accomplished anything of real value.

✦ ✦ ✦

Whites Guilty, Too

It is my opinion that he has, because while he admits that his book was written largely from secondary sources, which means from the books of white historians, he has offered a great deal of corrective evidence and has demonstrated that many of the charges brought against the Negro legislatures, for example, were exaggerated beyond all semblance of truth.

With many of Dr. Du Bois's verdicts it is not possible, however, for me to agree. His quite natural worship of Sumner and Stevens, particularly the latter, seems to me to go beyond the bounds of reason; like all the other leaders of the period, on both sides, these two men obviously operated from mixed motives.

And the desire for revenge played a considerable part, which is of itself proof that they were not the only high-minded statesmen in a dark period.

✦ ✦ ✦

No Mass-Wisdom

As for Dr. Du Bois's charges that real wisdom on the part of the South, either before or after the Civil War, would have changed the whole course of world history, there is too much of an ex-post facto air about such judgments to make them of any value.

People are not wise about such matters, even in situations where nothing so desperately and heartbreakingly tragic as race questions are involved; if they were, would Europe stand today on the brink of another great war?

I have made some two-score notes on this absorbing book, which is as well written and as carefully organized, except for occasional repetitions, as one might expect from its gifted author, but there is not space for a more detailed discussion.

Occasional details are incorrect, but there is a lot in the volume that will repay a careful study by any one who can bear the truth, no matter how much it interferes with preconceived notions and prejudices.

("Black Reconstruction," by W E. Burghardt Du Bois. Harcourt Brace. $4.50.)

New York World Telegram

JUN 13 1935

The First Reader



By
HARRY HANSEN

W. E. B. DuBois Publishes His "Black Reconstruction." Comparable in Importance to Beards' Great History.

FOR thirty years W. E. Burghardt DuBois has been gathering documents to support an economic history of the Negro race in America since the civil war; for over ten years he has been writing his conclusions into a compact work of extraordinary implications. Originally planned for two huge volumes, he was compelled by economic necessity to compress it into one book of 700 pages. It is called "Black Reconstruction" and is published today.

This publication is far more important to Americans than the issue of the theories of Pareto in four volumes a week or so ago; it is comparable in clarity and originality with "The Rise of American Civilization" of the Beards.

By reconstruction Dr. DuBois means that period of economic upheaval and adjustment in the South from 1860 to 1880 when the system of slave labor was disrupted and the Negro was compelled to become self-sustaining, a consumer as well as a producer, in payment for certain rights and franchises which varied in every State and every decade. Considering the Negro not as inferior to the white by nature but merely handicapped by lack of education and capital, Dr. DuBois warns his readers at the outset of his point of view, declaring that those who do not see growth in the Negro will not welcome his book. But this gratuitous warning is out of place, for Dr. DuBois must know, as well as any educator, that after today no one can consider himself informed on all phases of the Negro problem unless he has read this book. It is a necessary requirement for anyone who wants to understand Negro history, whether he be conservative or radical, reactionary or liberal, grass-root Republican or Progressive.

* * *

Negro as Factor in Labor Upheavals.

DR. DUBOIS applies intensively the methods of economic analysis to the post-war South; he sees the growing ground-swell of Negro dissatisfaction rising in the war years till it becomes a general strike, and he sees this general strike transferring the Negro's labor from the Southern planter to the Northern invader. It forced the hand of Lincoln, who was compelled, according to this interpretation, to free the slaves in order to make use of them, since the draft in the North was not yielding enough white soldiers.

Equally important for American history was the phase covered in the chapter "The Price of Disaster," which Dr. DuBois sums up thus:—"The price of the disaster of slavery and civil war was the necessity of quickly assimilating into American democracy a mass of ignorant laborers in whose hands alone for

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the moment lay the power of preserving
of popular government; of overthrowing
economy and establishing upon it an indu
marily for the profit of the workers. It
price which in the end America refused to
today suffers for that refusal."

Here we deal with forces that no one cou
or control—forces that grew out of the e
situation. That such movements could ha
recognized in the years in which they deve
unlikely; the documents were not at hand.
years the attitude toward the Negro was bas
expedience; the Northern politicians chang
methods to keep Southern political power
When it came to backing this with arms th
ern leaders established a dictatorship over th
their error was "the failure to realize th
dictatorship must last long enough to put t
of workers in power. The growing power o
ern industry defeated this possibility."

* * *

For "Ultimate Democracy."

THE question may well be asked, Where does Dr. DuBois stand as the result of his studies? He is still, as he always was, an evangelist for education. He believes in the common run of men, many of whom have never had a chance to better their lot, and he fears the mob, which is made up not only of the depraved and the hateful but of common men moved by fear and ignorance. The fear of being degraded, of losing one's savings, of seeing one's children in want—primarily of losing one's job.

His political program seems to end with what he calls "ultimate democracy." He writes:—"All men know that by sheer weight of physical force the mass of men must in the last resort become arbiters of human action. But reason, skill, wealth, machines and power may for long periods enable the few to control the many. But to what end? The current theory of democracy is that dictatorship is a stopgap pending the work of universal education, equitable income and strong character. But always the temptation is to use the stopgap for narrower ends, because intelligence, thrift and goodness seem so impossibly distant for most men. . . . We know that most human beings have never had a decent human chance to be full men. . . . It is, then, one's moral duty to see that every human being, to the extent of his capacity, escapes ignorance, poverty and crime."

This is not an objective history but more a work of interpretation, for Dr. DuBois' conclusions are in every paragraph, and opinions and evidence are strongly intermingled. Sometimes he cites as evidence the opinions of historic leaders. The book is, therefore, a highly personal work, and in its insistence on general education, on faith in the future of the Negro, it is characteristic of its author. It crowns the long, unselfish, studious and brilliant career of Dr. DuBois and will carry his name down tc other generations of American historians. (Harcourt, Brace & Co., $4.50.)

"NEGRO POLITICIANS"

Review of Book Written By Dr. Harold F. Gosnell

Chicago Defender
Chicago, Ill.
8-31-35

The rise of Race politics in Chicago is described in a 400-page volume entitled "Negro Politicians," written by Dr. Harold F. Gosnell, associate professor of political science at the University of Chicago, and released by the University of Chicago Press. The volume is described as the first detailed account of the political struggles of a minority group in an American metropolitan community.

With data drawn from five years of research on the problem, Professor Gosnell analyzes the personalities and the history, aims and results of the highly organized politics in the "Black Belt."

Political organization, he concludes, has resulted in no spectacular gains for the race as a group, but the concrete benefits have been about as great as among other minority groups, and the status of the Race might have been worse had it not organized.

"With higher burglary rates, more retardations in the schools, higher morbidity and mortality rates, higher delinquency rates, greater number of arrests, and more carelessness on the part of the governing agencies in the Race community than in other parts of the city, it might appear that political action had failed to bring many benefits to he Negro masses," Prof. Gosnell points out.

"But what would have happened to the government services given to this minority if it had no political power at all? Because the needs of the Negroes were greater, the benefits secured were not sufficient. Inadequate as they were, these services came nearer to meeting the needs than in areas where the Negroes have not developed some political power."

Race Achieved More Here

The Race in Chicago has achieved relatively more in politics than has the Race in other cities in the Uinetd States, Prof. Gosnell says, but they have had to pay a high price for their political gains. Voters generally have become more race conscious as a result of the growing political power of the Race, and the group has been thrown back upon itself.

"Before the Negro migration it was easier for a colored man to be elected to a county-wide position than it has been since," Prof. Gosnell writes.

"In some appointive and civil service position it is now harder for Negroes to get ahead than it was before the whites became so aware of the Negro competition. As the group has increased in size and influence, it has become more localized. DePriest would find it more difficult now to win once more a seat on the county board than to be re-elected to Congress from the First Congressional District."

Discussing the importance of the Race vote in city-wide elections, Dr. Gosnell, citing the last federal census, reports that the Race constituted 6.9 per cent of the total population of Chicago and 8.7 per cent of the adult population.

He estimates that 77 per cent of the Race eligible to vote exercise its franchise, while only 68 per cent of the entire citizenry does so, and calculates that 11 per cent of the voters in the Republican primary of 1930 were black.

Participation in politics has brought the Race a certain number of government jobs, both appointive and in the civil service. Dr. Gosnell reports that in 1932, 6.4 per cent of all jobs in the classified services of the city were held by Race citizens, a percentage not greatly below their proportion in the population.

The great bulk of these jobs, however, were at the lower levels—as janitors, street cleaners, ditch-diggers, etc. In the municipal government the Race has fared best in the public library, health department and water bureau.

More Race Policemen

In 1930 there were 137 Race police officers in Chicago, 2.2 per cent of the total force; the total of 137 was greater than that for any oher American city. In a separate chapter on Race police officers, Dr. Gosnell describes some of their difficulties, and concludes.

"While some of them have been of the exploitive type, the general stereotpye in the white community to the effect that Negroes cannot make good police officers is belied by the records of he Chicago police department.

"Colored women have made notable strides in securing positions in the public school system. While progress in the fire department, the controller's office and in other branches of the local government has been snail-like, it has been steady." Of the elementary teachers in the Chicago public schools in 1934, 3.4 per cent were Race members," Dr. Gosnell estimates.

Work in the postal service, which Dr. Gosnell believes the Race secured through its general participation in local politics, though not through specific political pressure, has offered the greatest opportunity. In 1930, about 3.4 per cent of all the male Race members 10 years of age and over gainfully employed in Chicago were in the postal service.

Successful Race politicians are tireless organizers who would "rather talk than eat." They have adopted the white man's tactics, and some are expert at propaganda and the manipulation of symbols.

"Negro politicians are not bothered by such nice questions as to who introduced the practice of humbuggery in American politics," Dr. Gosnell says. Patronage plays an important role. In general, Race politicians "have not been in a position to benefit from the most lucrative varieties of political graft that have been common in Chicago," but have come in for their share of minor graft."

Cooperation In Politics

Churches, the press, lodges and veterans organizations play more active roles in Race politics than in white; even the underworld must not be antagonized. The Race shows more personal loyalty to its political leaders, white and colored, than do white groups, Dr. Gosnell finds. Its loyalty to the Republican party, however, is being shaken. On "race" issues, they are usually united.

Discussing Race legislators, Dr. Gosnell says: "Voting records show that they have been opposed to efficiency methods in government, in favor of overloading the city and state budgets, opposed to laws strictly regulating the liquor traffic, and amusement places, and in favor of laws which aided the white political bosses without appearing directly to work to the disadvantage of the colored people."

Separate chapters are given to the careers of Edward H. Wright and Oscar DePriest, and another chapter describes the influence of William Hale Thompson in the "Black Belt." Dr. Gosnell reports that mulattoes, educated in Race politics but that there is still "no bar to the black man who is courageous, intelligent and persistent."

Dr. Gosnell gives a description of the determined, carefully planned effort of Communists to gain adherents among the Race after onset of the depression. This was largely unsuccessful, the reports, despite the fact that the depression hit the "Black Belt" severely and the Communists sought to capitalize on many types of specific Race grievances.

At the height of the drive there were probably about 500 Race members who joined the party. "In actual numbers the Communist movement among Negroes declined after the government machinery began to function more effectively," Dr. Gosnell says. "Nevertheless the movement has left a residum of distrust in the present order and of hope in a remote system which is based on equality of races and the sanctity of toil."

The volume is No. 32 in the series of Social Science Studies published under the direction of the university's social science research committee.

Race Problem - 1935

Book Review

The Negro American's Path Ahead

NEGRO AMERICANS, WHAT NOW? by James Weldon Johnson. The Viking Press, New York; 1934-35; 103 pages.

This book, written for, and to, negro Americans, could not have come at a more opportune moment, especially for digestion in the South. And, while it is written for the negro, it should be read by every white man now living below the Mason-Dixon line. It presents the problems facing the negro, as seen by a leader of that race. It offers an outline of a program for that race.

In Alabama, particularly, with the Scottsboro decision in the minds of all, it would be a fitting time for the white man to read Johnson's work, to attempt to understand it, and then decide upon the course to be followed.

According to race and section the merits of Johnson's plan, no doubt, will be met by divergence of opinion. But, whatever the opinion, the book seems destined to stir profound thought upon matters that some day must be settled. What position shall the negro occupy in American life? What about Communism? Migration to another land? Segregation? And — as the Scottsboro decision has brought to fore—what shall be his status as a citizen? Is he to serve on juries? in political offices? Is he to enjoy all rights now enjoyed by the white man?

Johnson seeks to guide his race through an outline of a plan. In his book he presents his arguments simply, directly, militantly.

In his foreword, Johnson boldly states that it was not his intention that the title should carry a prohibitive significance. "Probably," he writes, "some white Americans will read what I have written. The significence of my title is that I am not particularly concerned with whether they do or do not. I am writing to my fellow negro Americans, and on the American question which most deeply affects them."

Stressing the bewildering position of the negro today, especially as a group, Johnson first discusses the idea of physical separation of the races, by colonization or by deportation. This idea is dismissed, because of expense and impossibility of finding a place to which 12,000,000 people could be sent.

"We and the white people," he writes, "may as well make up our minds definitely that we, the same as they, are in this country to stay."

Physical force occupies the next topic. Here Johnson writes that he is not opposed to physical force on moral or pacific grounds, but, knowing it would be futile, asserts that "we must condemn physical force and banish it from our minds."

He draws one exception:

"When we are confronted by the lawless, pitiless, brutish mob, and we know that life is forfeit, we should not give it up; we should, if we can, sell it, and at the dearest price we are able to put on it."

Communism, "regarded as the infallible solution by an increasing number of us," is held by Johnson to be a false hope. He assures his readers that he sees no revolution at hand, other than economic and social changes, and says he finds no reason to believe that Communism would work in the United States.

These ideas dismissed, he declares that two choices are left: Continuation of efforts to achieve integration, or acknowledgment of isolation and determination to make the best of it.

Here is cited a division of opinion among the negroes, but with the majority believing in "making the race a component part of the nation, with all common rights and privileges, as well as the duties of citizenship."

This question is listed as "unsettled," and Johnson says that there are times when the most persistent integrationalist becomes an isolationist, "curses the white world and consigns it to hell." This tendency, he explains, "comes from desire for respite from a gruelling struggle," from being "Jim-Crowed, discriminated against, segregated, being lynched, shut out from industry, barred from main avenues of business, and cut off from free participation in national life."

While a self-sustaining unit is found impracticle, Johnson finds hope in the numerical strength of the negro, provided an "intelligent, courageous and persistent phalanx" is formed.

He urges the coordination of forces, elimination of jealousies, reformation of the church, and renewed efforts of the negro press to exert its influence upon people, organizations, and politicians. Also he suggests that the National Association for Advancement of Colored People, because of its "proven ability in fighting segregation as a law, its fight on lynching," and efforts in the Texas White Primary cases, be chosen for leadership.

A revamped educational policy is also sought, in which the negro would be taught the negro's true part in history, and be prepared to meet any trade requirements.

Discussing the political importance of the race, Johnson cites its part in the War Between the States and in the present political system known as the "Solid South." He cites also the "advances" made, despite obstacles, in the Texas White Primary cases and urges that the breach "be widened." He promses, finally, that the negro will win the full right to vote in the Deep South.

To begin, he urges the negro to qualify as soon as possible, and then to vote in local contests, leaving Republican politics alone, to defeat the argument that they are cat-paws of Yankee domination. To "bore from within"—the electing of congressmen in the North on negro votes, is seen as another excellent wedge.

Under the chapter, "Labor and Business," the author points to the vanished "black industrial zone in the South," and the fact that there are no more "traditional negro jobs." While others suffer unemployment, the negro, Johnson says, suffers as a group because of prejudices, and faces economic strangulation.

Organized labor is seen as the main gate to the industrial and economic corral. "On the day that it throws open that gate in realization of the truth that the cause of the white worker and the black worker are one," Johnson asserts, "there will be a crack in the wall of racial discrimination that will be heard around the world.

Meantime he suggests a careful study of the boycott, to be used only when success is assured; the building of a reputation for efficiency, and support for the Association for Advancement of Colored People in bringing to the attention of Federal authorities unjust conditions, such as the share-croppers.

While many negroes are treated with discourtesy in stores, he says, the negro finds it difficult to operate his own store because of inexperience, keep competition of highly organized groups, and the inability to reach capital or credit. Johnson decides that business must be done on a small scale now with efforts toward meeting values. The Japanese system of sending workers into the midst of the skilled is seen as a possible beginning to the solution.

On the policy of interracial relations, Johnson finds the negro divided. The majority, he avers, distrust all whites, but this he urges them to overcome. The necessity for the negro, "caught in a trap," of cultivating friendliness is stressed, as well as "taking as many steps forward as the white man." Johnson says many white people seek to act on the question, but fear to do so because of offending public sentiment. "The whites must be free to act," he adds, "before cultivation of social and intellectual intercourse between the two races in the South can progress." He concludes his views by saying that "this does not mean fostering sentimental and patronizing regard for negroes, which has become offensive."

The general idea of the negro, according to Johnson, has been obtained from plays and literatures. Through the same channels the negro, he says, must correct the misconceptions. He also advocates the raising of funds to give a true idea of the negro, for aiding in legal battles, and for such things as the Scottsboro case.

A warning is included in conclusion for the negro not to be "Jim-Crowed in soul," but to uphold his spirit and work and fight for his rights.

The pledge that he has taken, Johnsons says is:

"I will not allow one prejudiced person or one million or one hundred million to bligh tmy life. I will not let prejudice or any of its attendant humiliations and injustices bear me down to spiritual defeat. My inner life is mine, and I shall defend and maintain its integrity against all the powers of hell."—R. H.

Reconstruction Chaos.

JAPONICA GROVE. By Mary Barrow Linfield. 282 pp. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Doran & Company. $2.50.

To one who has lived in the deep south and has known the nostalgic charm of Louisiana's swamps and bayous, Mary Barrow Linfield in her first novel has drawn an authentic and a loving portrait of that part of the Magnolia State which forms the heart of the plantation country. Beside the oak-fringed roads lie the fathomless bayous, cooled from the sun by the moss-draped branches of ageless trees. It was down one of these bayous that Evangeline searched in vain for her lost lover, and it was beside these waters that aristocrats of French descent settled themselves in white mansions to wrest an abundant livelihood from a fertile soil.

Into their paradise of peace and plenty came the explosion of the Civil War. Wives and daughters were left at home to run the huge plantations while fathers and sons went off to fight for the Confederacy. The ensuing decay which took place on the plantations is common history, but little has been written outside of history books of the Yankee soldiers intent on the spoils of war and the newly freed blacks who were half-afraid, half-defiant in their liberation. It is this period of plunder that Miss Linfield has taken for the theme of her story.

The Rozainville, Ashwood and d'Ey families have been reunited at the close of the war and have courageously entered upon the era of reconstruction. Their three plantations beside Bayou Bleu are manned by a mere handful of faithful negroes. Great numbers of their former slaves, bewildered by their freedom, roam the streets of near-by towns and are incited to plunder by unscrupulous whites who see in the chaos of reconstruction an opportunity to further their own ambitions. Some of these whites are Yankee soldiers who corrupt the law courts and seize valuable property. Others are former plantation workers who jump at the opportunity to revenge themselves against their former overlords by trampling upon them while they are helpless to retaliate.

Leader of the latter group is the hated Gronner, a former overseer of Japonica Grove plantation. Through the publication of his paper, the "Freedman's Friend," he incites the bewildered negroes to rapacious bloodshed. The destruction and horror that unfold throughout the book, not only at Gronner's hands but at the hands of a group of Yankee soldiers who occupy the vicinity, contain all the lugubrious and sanguinary qualities of a Shakespearian tragedy. The author succeeds in making her readers recoil from the horror of that period and rebel emotionally against the tremendous injustices done the plantation owners. If this book had been written immediately following the war it might have been as instrumental in hastening the end of reconstruction tyranny as was "Uncle Tom's Cabin" in quickening the pulse of a nation toward civil war.

Love interest is supplied by the beautiful Zelie Rozainville, mistress of Papaloteca plantation. Zelie harbors a natural hatred against the Yankees who have cut her oil portraits in pieces, ransacked her bureaus, poured molasses over the rugs and furniture and, after slaughtering 30 head of cattle, cut a steak from each and left the bloody remains beneath the japonica trees on the lawn. Yet she secretly welcomes the amorous advances of the young Yankee, Captain Avgan, who wins her after he has aided her kinsmen to rout the despised Gronner.

Although the book fails to produce an imposing or memorable character, even among the negroes whom Miss Linfield seems to understand so well, it should rank as an important novel, for the author has not only given us a stirring picture of reconstruction days but has succeeded in capturing and recording the quiet charm and beauty of the sequestered plantation country. —MARJORIE UHRY.

Conducted by Julian Harris

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MARSHALLTOWN, IA.
NEWS REPUBLICAN
Times
APR 30 1935

A COLORED MAN'S 25 YEARS.

Lawrence Jones, founder and head of the Piney Woods school near Braxton, Miss., in his latest book "The Bottom Rail", offers a picture of racial conditions in the south vastly different from that described in his volume issued early in the life of his experiment of a school for colored youth in that particular part of the black belt where the Piney Woods school is located. In his first book Jones described the bitter opposition the founding of the school created among the white population, his own narrow escape from lynching and the innumerable difficulties that grouped themselves about the log cabin where he began his educational task.

In this latest volume he notes the passing of that savagery of prejudice and a fine and growing appreciation of value of Negro schooling along with the conclusion by the whites that the human element enters into the association between the races in Mississippi. He finds employing housewives taking an interest in the morals and welfare of their female employes, white business men willing to talk business with colored men, to advance money and to recognize the place in the future of the south which the good colored citizen occupies by right of usefulness.

Jones and the Piney Woods school acquire a special interest in Marshalltown and in Iowa where Jones worked his way to graduation from the Marshalltown schools and later from Iowa State University. He and his school deserve all the interest so awakened.

Few graduates of the schools mentioned have been more successful in attaining to a purpose than has Jones who has built from the decaying logs of a deserted Negro cabin an institution of a character and usefulness sufficient to conquest of racial prejudice based on common usefulness and clean conduct. The Times-Republican is always pleased to note further improvement in the school and its gradual acceptance by the section wherein its efforts have been expended.

A SOUTHERN VIEW OF THE INVASION OF THE SOUTHERN STATES AND WAR of 1861-65, by Capt. S. A. Ashe, Raleigh, N. C. 75 pp. $1.25, paper bound; $1.75 bound. Checks direct to author.

Reviewed by EUGENE ANDERSON

If you believe the Southern States could have kept out of the War "Between" the States, Captain Ashe will show you that you are mistaken. Might as well say that Ethiopia can get away from a war with Mussolini. Abraham Lincoln had given $100 to help John Brown massacre the white people at Harper's Ferry, and when Brown was hanged for what he and his band did, the agitators, led by Lincoln, declared that Brown's death had made the scaffold as holy as the cross.

The sinister schemes underlying the emancipation proclamation also show how barbarous had become the enemies of the South; and but for the friendship between the slaves and their masters, the proclamation would have resulted in more slaughter of helpless women and children in the South than was recorded in the Massacres of St. Bartholomew. That was the hope and purpose of the vicious element of the North, and the massacres were agitated for years before secession.

But Captain Ashe makes it palin that there were many good people in the North who did not believe in these crimes, and opposed the war. There was on both sides a constant demand for the cessation of the war, and Congress never sanctioned it. Lincoln played the dictator and waged the war on his own. He overrode the constitution. He had condemned it from the moment the Supreme Court decided the Dred Scott case. He wanted to subjugate the Southern States, and make provinces of them.

Captain Ashe quotes interesting passages from the articles of confederation, and shows the conditions agreed to upon the admission of South Carolina, Rhode Island, Virginia and New York, when the union was being formed. People who do not understand the legal status of the different states as they entered the union, owe it to themselves to read this book. It does not try to cover the ground so ably covered by Claude Bowers in his Tragic Era, but it shows what was in the minds of most Americans up to the time the Supreme Court declared that the question of a state's right to secede was being tested with war.

IT CAN'T BE DONE

Christian Recorder
10-17-35

We have finished reading Mr. James Weldon Johnson's book: "Negro Americans, What Now?" In spite of his protestations to the contrary we felt the conviction that the book was written for white people, though addressed to Negroes. We are not impressed that Mr. Johnson knows the psychology of the Negro after you exclude the so-called intelligentsia, who, by the way, are not necessarily intelligent, but have been to college.

The author spends more time and space criticising the church than anything else. You would think he was interested in the church if you did not know the psychology of the intelligentsia. They love to criticise anything the Negro is trying to do for himself and laud the things white folks are doing for the Negro. If they were intelligent, they would jump in and help the poor Negroes in their struggle for religious expression. They do not—not even the Honorable James Weldon Johnson. They spend their time in criticism. Well, our problem cannot be solved that way—it just can't be done.

The Negro can't be raised by the N. A. A. C. P. or the Urban League or the Y. M. C. A., all of which are fine well meaning institutions. The Negro cannot be saved by politicians who are proteges of white men. Of course, these have their influence. But in the last analysis the Negro must work out his own salvation with fear and trembling. Unfortunately nobody can help the Negro as much as the Negro himself; and a Negro with a grammar school education and faith in himself is far better than a Negro with a college degree out of whom all racial self-respect and self-reliance has been "educated," and who thinks his college training has given him a divine right to criticise and tear down the things his forbears have been a hundred years building.

What the race needs is leaders of the Richard Allen type, leaders of the Daniel A. Payne and Henry M. Turner type, dynamic, intelligent and courageous personalities with vision, initiative, and daring.

We have too many educated cowards, too many educated parasites. We need some constructive thinking. Without this it can't be done.

Reverting again to Mr. Johnson's book, from which we strayed, it is a good book nevertheless, for it has many stimulating ideas; and we commend it for its pioneering vision, its search for a technique, while we feel that Mr. Johnson has failed to put first things first; and has not been fair to the Church as to other organizations of less importance and who have done less work.

Race Problem - 1935

Book Review.

Columbus, Ga., Record
August 27, 1935

ALABAMA FELL ON CARMER

A LITTLE browsing about in different chapters of "Stars Fell on Alabama," published last year by Carl Carmer, who enjoyed the state's hospitality for six years, and inferentially was on its payroll for all that period.

Professor Carmer went down to Tuscaloosa to take a job at the University of Alabama. Apparently he didn't have enough work to do, for his lectures were given during the morning, leaving the afternoons open for tennis, golf and swimming, and the evenings to wandering around and going to social affairs, with which the calendar was crowded. This was far better than even bankers' hours, and one would suppose that he would think very kindly of a state and an institution that goodnaturedly permitted such an easy schedule.

A fellow-professor, the very first night that Carmer arrived in Tuscaloosa advised him earnestly: "For God's sake, get out of here before it's too late." The author adds: "I was to live in Tuscaloosa six years before I fully realized what Saffold had meant and left Alabama."

Professor Carmer neglects to mention it, but he was assisted to leave Alabama. The University let him out. There was also some talk about his being too romantic under conditions when he shouldn't have been romantic at all, but scandal is not a new thing, it is not confined to colleges and not even to college professors.

In the foreword to his book on Alabama, the author says: ". . . the curious traveler will find his journeying amply repaid here. The Congo is not more different from Massachusetts or Kansas or California. So I have chosen to write of Alabama not as a state which is part of a nation, but as a strange country in which I once lived and from which I have now returned." In other words, Alabama will have to give up her charter, not being recognized by Professor Carmer as a state any longer.

He was introduced to corn liquor his first night in Tuscaloosa. He found it vile to the taste. We think he's right about it—castor oil, to our notion, is almost as attractive. Indeed, there ought to be a law against making corn liquor; come to think about it, possibly there is.

Later in the evening the professor was introduced to scuppernong wine, which he found smooth and delightful. Again we find his judgment very fine.

The day he reached Tuscaloosa unknown friends sent beautiful roses in profusion to him at his hotel. He does not know to this day who sent them. Evidently he had come to a barbarous, uncouth and uncivilized country. One can imagine how many roses a young college professor from Alabama would receive the day he arrived at his new post at Keokuk or Chilicothe or even Fall River.

During his wanderings up and down the state in that wealth of spare time he found at his disposal, Professor Carmer was in some South Alabama county when they lynched a negro or two. After they got their hand in, the enterprise grew, and one would almost infer from the professor's lurid passages that about half the colored population of the county was hung, or burned, or both. It got too tedious just running them down, and they sent over to Mississippi, to get some dogs to track 'em. In other words, here was an Alabama county actually without bloodhounds! There seems to be a discrepancy, somewhere!

A great many things that the author tells about no doubt happened, and they are well described, too; it is a live and readable book all right—one of the 40,000 volumes in the Columbus public library. But the book as a whole is a caricature of Alabama, and a slander. If you take a composite picture and pick out spots equal to one-tenth of the whole and leave the nine-tenths blank, it is not a real picture. In other words, the Carmer book is a lie; not solely due to the exaggerations that creep into it, but also to its significant omissions.

The point may be made that when you write a book you must pick out the high spots, the things that are striking, that make good reading. In other words, they may say, a book in its last analysis must be **newsy.** They may even bring up the old newspaper proverb, "It's not news when a dog bites a man, but it IS news when a man bites a dog." At the same time the country—even Alabama—is not filled with men going about biting dogs; that assuredly is not the chief occupation of the human division of the population. A picture of this country would not be a dog-biting country.

From Professor Carmer's tribute to Tuscaloosa, the city that sent in roses and gave him corn liquor and scuppernong wine the day he arrived, the following touching lines are taken:

> Gossip, dancing, swimming, drinking, love-making, even religious observance, each has its niche in the structure of a day. But not reading and contemplation. Gradually life in Tuscaloosa comes to follow a formula that anaesthizes. More virulent than the germs of violence are those that make their victim unaware of the passing of time. Weeks, months, years, go by and no one wakes up to discover that they are gone. Like the little lost town of Germelshausen, that Gerstacker wrote of, Tuscaloosa lives a life of its town—an enchanted life in an age other than ours. Mountains lowering from the north, stagnant marshes sleeping in the south, shut it in from the world. A malevolent landscpae—lush and foreboding —broods over it, bending its people to strange purposes.

We seem to have a mysterious situation here that not even the brain of a Carmer may be able to decipher at first glance. Tuscaloosa happens to be the seat of one of the greatest of Southern universities. In attendance it surpasses any other university in the South, except Tulane—that is to say, Tulane, with Sophie Newcomb added. Every state in the union is represented in the enrollment of the Universty of Alabama. And every fall so many young men and young women come down from New York City to get an education in this little city between the harsh mountains and the poisonous marshes that it almost requires a special train to handle them.

Race Problem - 1935

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Malicious Attacks Upon Georgia Protested By Illinois Citizen, Who Pays High Tribute To Character of People of Rural Sections

Editor Constitution: I call your attention to the enclosed review of a play called "Tobacco Road." This review is apparently from the pen of a man who has never visited Georgia, or if so he has limited his sphere of observation to the large cities. This probably accounts for the rather bitter note in his co-called "review."

It has been my good fortune to visit many rural localities in your state, and if the conditions exist as one is led to believe by seeing this "play" I did not observe them. It is of course possible that isolated instances such as described in this play might happen. They could happen in any state. Cleveland, with its sinister record of open and flagrant vice, its red record of murder, racketeering, window smashing, bombing and scarlet women plying their vocation without let or hindrance offers far better material for a "play" such as "Tobacco Road" than Georgia provides, assuming the stage presentation is based on facts.

That there is much poverty in Georgia is undeniable, but this unfortunate condition is not restricted to Georgia. The "sharecroppers" I met there were hard working men and women who would be shocked by the orgies of one of Cleveland's night clubs or a roadhouse.

I am not a Georgian or southerner, but belong to Chicago. My experience in Georgia impressed me with the great underlying religious devotion of your people, and their fine sense of honor. I applaud Mayor Kelly, of Chicago, and Mayor Couzins, of Detroit, in denying to this filthy play the right to exploit its sensuality and its obscenity at the expense of decency.

I am sending you this clipping from the Cleveland Plain Dealer because I feel that as editor of a great southern newspaper you can and no doubt will answer what I feel is an unfair, unjust and grossly exaggerated exploitation of a condition that is so far from general as to make it negligible.

For chivalrous respect for womanhood, kindliness, pride and honor, I feel that your great state provides a criterion that it will be well for us to observe, rather than to give encouragement to some muck-raking abortion, written for the box-office and appealing to the sensual and sensational.

THOMAS J. EBERHARDT.
Cleveland, Ohio, Nov. 22, 1935.

Review of "Tobacco Road."

Following are excerpts from the review of "The Tobacco Road," appearing in a recent issue of the Cleveland Plain Dealer:

A Tragedy of Dirt.

It is a shocking play, an ugly play, but it is not a dirty play. I mean that its grossness and ribaldry is not lugged in to create a cheap effect. They grow naturally out of the theme and are essential in the pattern of the life that the dramatist has to present.

You may say that this kind of life has no business on the stage. But if you admit that every sort of human living comes within the purview of the dramatist and that it is his legitimate business to set it down realistically and faithfully, then you cannot logically object to the moral quality of "Tobacco Road."

You can only object, and you should object, not to the play, but to the life that the play portrays, and the economic and social failures which create that wretchedness of living. For the play has the ring of truth.

It is consistent within itself and you believe in the reality of its characters and the genuineness of the environment that surrounds them. What is really unpleasant about this play is not its vulgarity but its truth.

As I was leaving, I overheard a disappointed spectator saying, "That's the most depressing play I ever saw." He was right. It is skillfully enough written to be amusing and exciting but it is fundamentally not so much obscene as depressing.

There is physical dirt and brutishness about this play which is rare in our commonly comfortable and well-dressed theater. The stage is covered with real dirt, and, in a symbolical sense, the characters are rooted in it and keep lying there.

Pig Sty Drama.

It is a pig sty drama. The characters are the poorest, most degraded tenant farmers in the **scurvy and hookworm belt of Georgia.** They wallow in a simple animal sensuality which is without either self-consciousness or regret.

What is really shocking about them is not their poverty, which is profound, but the **casualness with which they accept their poverty; and what is really disturbing about their morality is not a proneness to sensuality and theft but their perfunctory and insensitive attitude to such things, involving an almost complete unawareness and a nearly total loss of the sense of shame.**

The only thing worse than degradation is not to be aware of one's degradation, and none of the people in "Tobacco Road" are.

There isn't any good in the lot of them, though simple animal instincts, such as maternal feeling, or love of the land, sometimes irradiate them. Old Jeeter Lester is a lazy, dirty, wretchedly poor tenant farmer, a sensual, cadging old fraud, not without amiability for he has not backbone enough for any permanent resentments. His wife, Ada, is a sour old dame, crushed by hard work, without hope.

Two children live with them, a young boy, with the nature of a wild pig, and a hair-lipped girl, dumb and frightened, sensual and shy as a rabbit.

It is a picture not of individual lives but of a system of living and that living is **brutally poor, unenlightened, bestial and horrifying.** I suppose what most contributes to that effect on the stage is not the profanity or obscenity of the characters, but their physical dirtiness. Their feet are as unwashed as their morals.

Race Problem - 1935
Book Review.

Politicians in Chicago Called Country's Best

By CARL MURPHY

Chicago politicians are more aggressive than New Yorkers, more experienced than Detroiters, more adventuresome than those in Cincinnati and more united than St. Louisans.

This is the view of Harold F. Gosnell, white, associate professor of political science at the University of Chicago, whose new book "Negro Politics," came from the University of Chicago Press this week.

What Chicago Has

Pointing to the fact that colored Chicago has a Congressman, four members of the legislature, 2,433 classified city employees, 226 county employees, 126 park workers, 133 policemen, 285 teachers in mixed schools, 3,000 postal employees, 22 firemen and many appointive offices in the city and state with salaries from $5,000 to $10,000, Prof. Gosnell concludes that they have achieved relatively more there than in any other city.

The reason back of this, he declares, is that 200,000 colored people live in one city area about three blocks wide and eight miles long.

No Gerrymander

These three city wards colored people have managed to keep as units, instead of having them divided (gerrymander—Ed.) among white wards as in other cities.

Colored voters in New York and other cities are numerous enough to elect a Congressman but they are so scattered or, as in Baltimore, so gerrymandered that they can control no Congressional district.

Leaders Expert

The professor admits that colored political leaders have been wise and expert but he adds that they have been helped by two factors:

One is the Illinois system of cumulative voting by which any minority group which can muster one-third of the votes in a state senatorial district can be sure of one representative on the ticket. In three district a voter can cast one ballot for each of three candidates or all three for one candidate.

Whites Help

The second is the attitude of the Chicago white voters who in city-wide elections heretofore raise no race issue. Thousands of whites voted for Albert George for municipal judge without knowing he is colored. This sentiment is changing now. White newspapers play up a candidate's color.

Professor Gosnell's study shows that the churches are in politics and political speeches during a campaign take the place of a Sunday morning sermon.

Nearly every officeholder is a member of the Elks, Masons, Pythians or other fraternal order.

The biggest political leaders have come from the underworld, and also from this source has come the money to run the political campaigns.

Gambling Czars

Picturesque political leaders cited include the late John (Mushmouth) Johnson, gambling czar, who used to give $10,000 each to Democrats and Republicans so that he would be safe no matter which party won.

Bob Motts, who ran the Pekin Theatre succeeded him. Henry Tenan Jones, the next boss, ran saloons and headed the second ward gambling syndicate.

Dan Jackson

Most noted of all was the late Dan Jackson, undertaker and gambling king, who unlike his predecessors, was a college man and a graduate of Lincoln University.

Second Lincoln

Mayor William Hall (Big Bill) Thompson is called by Professor Gosnell — a second Lincoln. Big Bill is quoted as saying he won his election as alderman in 1900 by spending money liberally in saloons. "There were 270 saloons in the ward. I spent $175 a day, wore out two pairs of shoes and gained 14 pounds, but won."

DePriest Acquitted

Underworld influences on politicians, says Professor Gosnell, were responsible for Oscar DePriest's indictment for conspiracy to allow gambling houses and houses of prostitution to operate, and for bribery of police officers. DePriest was acquitted in time to take his seat in Congress.

Bishop Indicted

The late Bishop A. J. Carey of the AME Church, Mayor Thompson's righthand man, died while awaiting trial for receiving bribes for favors in connection with his work as civil service commissioner.

Judge Harrison

resigned from the parole board under charges of conspiracy and bribery, but was later acquitted.

Other Political Leaders

Edward H. Wright, James Cotton, Edward Morris, Major Robert R. Jackson, Dr. George C Hall, Adelbert H. Roberts, John B. French, and Dr. Daniel Williams are listed as political leaders who made constructive contributions to Chicago's political life.

Chapters of the professor's book deal among other subjects with communism, police, postal employees, teachers, civil service employees and Oscar DePriest.

DePriest Story

Of DePriest he tells this anecdote: The Congressman called on a prominent white politician one morning in behalf of an ousted jobholder and without preliminaries announced: "You blankety-blank, blank, you put my man back on the payroll, or I'll —— you."

The white politician angrily replied: "You can't talk to me like that." DePriest persisted and the man was put back on the payroll.

NEGRO POLITICIANS. By Harold F. Gosnell, University of Chicago Press. Price $3.50.

OSCAR DEPRIEST REVIEWS BOOK ON POLITICS

Recorder

(By HAROLD GOSNELL; University of Chicago Press; Winner of $1,000 John Anisfield Award for 1935.) 12-28-35

This book is a compilation of some sixteen or more chapters, the first of which opens with a discussion of the Negro in politics gen-

eral in America, with Major John R. Lynch as the subject. It discusses the various political vicissitudes through which the Negro has passed, his trials and triumphs after loyal and distinguished services to the party, particularly in the early days following the Civil War, with references being made to the courage of Frederick Douglass and other men of the Negro race.

The author traces the rise and fall of the Negro of the South in politics in the earlier days down through the time when venomous head of Lily-whiteism arose in the Republican party in the states of the South and the effect which the migration of the Negro from the South to the large metropolitan centers has had upon his political and social destiny. The author discusses the advantages that have accrued to the race from these shifts.

Questions Source of Information

A full chapter is devoted to the narration of various instances of the Negro in politics in Chicago, citing from a mass of newspapers, mostly dailies and authors on sociology. This, in my opinion, makes the book styled, "Negro Politicians," a misnomer. The author obviously goes far afield from actual politics, bases too many of his conclusions upon superficial investigations, relies too greatly upon information obtained from mere news stories carried in the daily press, which because of their aliagnment with particular political factions, have made it impossible for one unfamiliar with practical politics to arrive at a true estimate of the candidates and office holders be they Negro or white—this would certainly be true of the Negro politicians. There is but little, if any, reference made of personal interviews held with these politicians who are the subject of the author's biographical sketches.

Reference is made to the so-called "Black Belt" as a political battle ground, showing increases of the Negro vote because of the migration of the Negro from the South between 1914 and 1930, styling William Hale Thompson as the "second Lincoln." In this section the author shows the force and effect of this almost solid Negro area upon the social and political advancement of the race and its particular advantage in "cutting" candidates unfriendly to the interest of the Negro. This of course, is as it should be.

Many Contradictions

This book is honeycombed with contradictions. The author with the exception of citations of some the exception of citations of some events from the daily press, shows his gross lack of knowledge of the conditions, personalities and the group about which he writes under the caption, "Negro Politicians."

In manay instances the author's reference to vice, poor housing conditions, the lack of proper facilities for good and wholesome living, are very one sided. One unfamiliar with the conditions would be led to believe that the communities where Negroes reside are places of horror and unfit for respectable citizens to live in. This is very erroneous.

The author gives some credit to politicians for the appointment to operative jobs on the police force and in the school system. In these two deparments the employment and promotions are based entirely upon civil service examinations. Reference is made to the number of jobs held in the various departments of the city, county and state; too frequent mention being made of how the color barrier has been overcome. I do feel that by now our students and authors of Sociological problemms should be magnanimous enough in heart, broad enough in vision, sincere enough in purpose, to relate the story of the miraculous progress of the Negro without constantly reminding him of his handicaps on account of color. Such authors aggravate the evils and fan the flames of racial antipathy by constant and unnecessary references.

Cites Chicago As Example

Contrary to the view of the author, the Negro politician has not been opposed to efficiency in government. While thinking of the affairs of state he has had the added responsibility of thinking for the best interest of his race. It has been my view of the Negro politician who really wants to lead and serve, that "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty," wether in the City Council the State Legislature, or the halls of Congress. For the past quarter of a century or more the progress of the Negro in all fields in Chicago has been looked upon as the great Mecca and nerve center of Negro life in home ownership, church life and better social conditions of the race. This has been made possible by the power of the ballot used to promote the interest of all concerned.

I feel that the author before releasing his book should have made a thorough and complete survey of the race and the localities occupied by them, together with personal interviews of the individuals upon whose biographies he bases his book.

Race Problem — 1935

Canada

THE RED INDIANS OF CANADA

From our Ottawa Correspondent

Manchester Guardian Weekly 21-5-35 New York N.Y.

While the ultimate issue is still in doubt, the record of the past decade tends strongly to support the belief that the Red Indian, the original inhabitant of the North American continent, will survive. To those who regard the Red Indians as a strong, vigorous race this statement will sound rather paradoxical. But actually the Indians have never been a hardy people, and the impact of civilisation has been almost more than they could withstand.

Taking the continent as a whole, the accepted authorities believe that, although it was inhabited exclusively by Indians for perhaps a thousand years, their number never exceeded 3,000,000. The Indian in his natural state was a barbarian who went about half-naked and was often incapable of providing food and shelter for himself in one of the richest areas on the earth. He frequently died of starvation. Records fail to disclose that he ever mastered any but the crudest methods of production, relying almost entirely on his ability as a hunter and fisherman.

It is estimated that at the time of the French occupation of Quebec there were 120,000 Indians in Eastern Canada and at least as many in the West, or 240,000 in all. In the next two hundred years, ravaged by plagues, unable to meet the new conditions presented by the white population, they declined in numbers. In 1871 the total Indian population of Canada was but 102,000. Thereafter there was a slight improvement, chiefly in the West, where intensive white settlement had not yet taken place. But as Western settlement progressed at the turn of the century the Indian population began once more to decline. In 1921 the total was 100,000. Since 1921 there has been an increase to 112,510, and the officials in charge of Indian affairs at Ottawa are confident now that the Indian will adjust himself to the white man's world. Their view is based on the annual census returns from the Indian reserves in the heart of the thickly populated areas. Into the effort to save the Indian race the Dominion has put upwards of $80,000,000, and it is now spending at the rate of more than $4,000,000 per annum.

In sharp contrast to the record of the Indian may be placed that of the French colony founded at Quebec and Montreal in 1666. The original immigrants did not exceed 4,000, yet to-day their descendants number more than 3,000,000.

After the British conquest in 1759 the Indian was conceded to be the original owner of Canada. His birthright was taken from him, but in return the British conquerors pledged their honour to do one of two things: either maintain him as a ward of the State or admit him into full citizenship. The task has been difficult. The British and their Canadian successors in government found that the noble red man of Fenimore Cooper, Ballantyne, and other writers—the romantic figure, stoical, wise in the ways of nature, intelligent, temperate—was a myth. In fact, the Indian possessed a wretched physique, was an easy victim of disease, notably tuberculosis, was without appreciation of the simplest rules of sanitation, and was deficient in will power.

The Indian woman, contrary to accepted report, was and is not nearly as strong or vigorous as the average white woman. The stories of Indian wives falling out of the line of march to have their babies and rejoining the camp a few hours later are true, but only indicate that the Indian is indifferent to human suffering. The child-birth mortality among Indian women was extraordinarily high and has been one of the serious problems which officials have had to solve.

The broad policy adopted by the Government with respect to the Indian is based on the principle that he must be absorbed into the citizenry of the country. Where hunting-grounds were taken from tribes the State entered into treaties with the tribes. The treaties set aside reservations, deemed adequate for all needs. Annual "treaty" payments of a few dollars per head were given, and trust funds were established for each reserve. Whenever a capital asset was sold the proceeds went into this fund. To-day, in cases where reserves have yielded valuable resources, like oil, these trust funds are very large and the members of the tribe are comparatively wealthy. If he chooses to leave the reservation, the Indian is given his individual share of the fund, ceases to become a ward of the State, and is granted full citizenship. He can never again become an Indian in the eyes of the law.

An educational system was installed by the State but management of schools was left largely to the various religious denominations. For many decades the objective was to transform the Indian from a nomad into an agriculturist. He was encouraged to take a farm within the reserve and develop it. This effort has been fairly successful, although it is evident that the Indian has no particular love of farming. He does not take naturally to it.

Shortly after the war experiments were made with vocational training, and it would appear that many Indians are best fitted to be artisans. Vocational training is being extended with good results.

Broadly speaking, one half of the population is in the southern and more densely populated areas. These Indians are the remnants of the tribes which marched with the French and the British in the eighteenth century. The Indian has always had a deep sense of loyalty, and many thousands of red men migrated from the United States to Canada after the revolution rather than forsake the British flag. The southern Indian population has become civilised, and will gradually be absorbed into the citizenry of the Dominion.

The other half inhabits the north areas and has only in recent years met the first shock of civilisation. White trappers have invaded this area, and the Government has been compelled to come to the assistance of the Indians, who cannot meet the new competitive conditions. Larger reserves for hunting purposes have been established, and gradually the educational system will be enlarged. The northern tribes will be put through the same intensive training for future citizenship as the southern tribes have been.

In addition to education, the State maintains an adequate medical service on all reservations. The Indians suffer particularly from tuberculosis and also are subject to eye trouble, chiefly trachoma. These diseases could be quickly stamped out if the Indians could be taught to respect ordinary rules of sanitation and prevention. Indeed, this is the one great obstacle to a substantial increase in the Indian population.

From a social viewpoint the Indian, while he has twice revolted against the rule of the white man—in 1870 and 1885,—does not present a serious problem in Canada. In the west there are substantial numbers of half-breeds, the descendants of the trappers and pioneers who married Indian women. The mixture is not a happy one from the viewpoint of physical strength. But the part played by the half-breed in the State has been considerable. John Norquay was Premier of Manitoba in the seventies. Louis Riel fomented both rebellions. Generally speaking, the half-breed is not regarded as inferior racially. Neither is the pure blood Indian, although mixed marriages between pure blood Indians and whites are exceedingly rare. The half-breeds, on the other hand, are rapidly being absorbed into the white race.

The Indians, save when under the influence of liquor, are law-abiding, peaceful people. Prison records in Canada fail to show the slightest evidence of abnormal criminality. They are not deficient in physical courage, and time and again have proved their worth as soldiers. As a race they are esteemed by the Canadian people. They present no problem other than the problem of preventing their elimination by natural causes.

Race Problem—1935
Canada.

Negro Named Head Of Education Board

Dr. H. D. Taylor, Brother of Local Dentist, Achieves Great Honor.

WINDSOR, Ontario, Jan. 24—Dr. H. D. Taylor has been named chairman of the Windsor Board of Education. The Border Cities Star, in editorial comment, declared:

"Dr. Taylor has been a trustee for four years and has given excellent service, taking a keen interest at all times and ever endeavoring to advance the cause of education. It is only fitting that his work and his abilities should be recognized by elevation to the presiding post."

Dr. Taylor is the brother of Dr. A. R. Taylor, a dentist, Centre avenue, Pittsburgh.

TORONTO, ONT.
MAIL & EMPIRE
MAY 31 1935

Negroes Enlisted As King Voters

Ninety Per Cent. Will Vote Liberal, Association Officer Promises.

Ninety per cent. of the negroes in Toronto are going to vote a straight Liberal ticket in the coming federal elections, declared O. M. Johnson, vice-president of the Toronto Colored Men's Liberal Association, while speaking at last night's Liberal rally held in Sovereign Hall on Dovercourt Road.

There are some 4,000 negroes in Toronto to-day, the speaker pointed out, while outlining the formation and activities of their organization.

Ian Strachan, M.P.P. for St George's riding, told the meeting that he was getting "a big kick" out of the present Conservative situation in Ottawa.

"Premier Bennett is not well," he remarked, "and now the old Conservative party is looking around and trying to find a new leader."

Harold J. Kirby, provincial Liberal whip, outlined the accomplishments of the Hepburn administration.

Race Problem - 1935

Europe

TALKING IT OVER

WITH WILLIAM N. JONES

Mr. Jones, Traveling by Way of Paris and Geneva, Is in Moscow, Russia, This Week.

LUZERNE, Switzerland—Because Jewish people throughout the world regard the Ethiopian-Italian conflict as part of a plan to extend fascism throughout the world, the International Zionist Congress, which will meet here August 28, will take steps to assist the African kingdom.

With this in view, Max W. Grafstein, Canadian delegate now in Europe, has asked me to prepare a resolution and petition along this line which he will bring before that body.

Sees Wide Danger

In a conference at Geneva Mr. Grafstein, who conducts a chain of stores in Toronto and London, Canada, together with other Jews, declared that the Ethiopian matter was closely allied with a world-wide movement to bring governments under a fascist system and that under such governments minority races, principally colored and Jewish races would suffer. He pointed to Germany and the growing menace of fascism in Europe.

If Mussolini and Hitler extend their influence into Africa, he says, there will be every possibility of their ultimately imposing upon the world a system of government which will revert to the barbarity of the galley slave.

The International Zionist Congress will be in session to consider the status and future of the Jewish groups, he said, but the Jewish people have come to realize that all groups and all races and religions must unite to halt the danger of the spread of racial prejudices exemplified by Hitler and Mussolini.

He stated that delegates are expected from Ethiopia as well as other darker skinned Jewish groups.

Has Colored Housekeeper

Speaking of the race question in general, Mr. Grafstein suggested a closer linkup between colored peoples and his group not only in the time of crisis, but from a general economic point of view. In one of his stores, he says, he employs a young colored woman as house keeper and that he advertises in a colored newspaper.

He believes that good results could come from an international business alignment which would gradually improve the economic status of the colored peoples. He was anxious to know what steps organized colored groups in America were taking in behalf of Ethiopia.

Stick by Ethiopia

When told that while there had been considerable discussion and expression of sentiment and that a large number of young men had expressed their desire to enlist in the Ethiopian army, he stated that he believed the American group should stick by their African brothers as Jews are sticking by their brothers throughout the world.

Gordon on Moscow Daily

MØSCOW, U.S.S.R.—Eugene Gordon, for many years on the editorial staff of the Boston Post, is now employed on the staff of the Moscow Daily News.

Mr. Gordon will in all probabilty spend the next two years in the Soviet Union, it was learned.

The Boston newspaperman has also been voted a membership in the Moscow Writers' Club, outstanding literary club in the country. The Moscow Daily News is an English language daily dealing not only with world events, but with local news.

Patterson Improving

William H. Patterson, general secretary of the American International Labor Defense, under whose administration the Scottsboro case was fought out, has been recuperating here and is planning to go back to America at an early date.

Patterson lives at the Savoy Hotel, the second largest hostelry in Moscow. James W. Ford, former vice presidential candidate on the U.S. Communist party ticket, is also in Moscow attending the seventeenth Comintern.

Howard Professor Sees Sights

Also in Moscow is Dr. Emmett Dorsey of Howard University, who came here with a group of white students to attend the summer university session. This summer session was cancelled and the group is spending the time making visits to various sections of the country.

AFRO Writer in Moscow, Finds No Color Problems

William N. Jones Makes Intensive Tour of Soviet City.

TOOK ANTI-ITALIAN LETTERS TO GENEVA

Thinks Young Leaders Should Visit Russia.

By CHATWOOD HALL

MOSCOW—William N. Jones, managing editor of the AFRO Philadelphia office, has arrived in the Red Capital after a journey which has taken him into France, Switzerland, Germany, and Poland. He expects to spend several weeks in the Soviet Union, during which he hopes to have an interview with at least one of the leaders of the Soviet Government.



W. N. Jones

Leaving New York on the French liner Champlain on July 27, Mr. Jones reached Paris on August 3. While in Paris he discussed with the Ethiopian minister problems dealing with the defense status of Ethiopia in the impending conflict with Italy. The minister admitted that his country has become confronted with grave difficulties in securing arms and ammunition from capitalist countries.

Has 50-50 Chance

On the other hand, in discussing the same question with a well-known journalist in Paris, who is a representative of the Central European Press, Mr. Jones said that this journalist declared that, regardless of Ethiopia's difficulty in securing arms and ammunition, in case of a conflict Ethiopia has a fifty-fifty chance of winning on account of other compensating advantages, such as climate, mosquitoes, terrain, ravages of disease, etc., which await Italian soldiers. In addition, Italian soldiers, though modernly equipped are not rated as the best of fighters.

Proceeding from Paris to Geneva, Mr. Jones presented to the Secretariat of the League of Nations a set of letters collected from colored Americans protesting Italy's intended attack upon Ethiopia and pointing out that the League of Nations is duty bound to live up to its obligations.

These letters will make it clear to the League that colored Americans are gravely concerned over Mussolini's Fascist and imperialist bull-dozing and over the fate of Ethiopia.

Tours Moscow

Since reaching Moscow on August 8, Mr. Jones has visited many points of interest, such as the Central Park of Culture and Rest, the new subway, theatres, museums, factories, workers' homes, etc.

"I feel that I have dropped onto a new planet," said Mr. Jones when interviewed today in his room at the Savoy Hotel. "While I had some idea of the working of a planned Socialist society, I am amazed at the extent to which the Soviets have achieved success along this line.

"Coming from America, and then passing through France, Germany, and Poland, it was particularly refreshing to observe a country in which everybody is busy, happy, hopeful, and where there are no pressing problems of daily living.

Lauds Soveit Union

"I wish that larger numbers of our leaders, especially young persons who are to lead in the future, could come to the Soviet Union and get a first-hand view of what can be actually achieved in the matter of better human relations by a country which set out to do it as the Soviet Union has done under the leadership of the Bolsheviks."

Asked for an opinion concerning the solution of the race problem and the complete absence of any racial antagonism in the Soviet Union, Mr. Jones remarked:

"It would be the most natural thing, of course, for any colored man to note the complete absence of color or race problem in the Soviet Union. And this seems to be particularly emphasized to a person of color, for his attention is constantly attracted to the apparent non-existence of such a problem and the absence of consciousnes sof the people of such a question.

No Color Problem

"There is absolutely no color problem here. One gets this feeling the very first time one speaks to a citizen in Moscow, and the more one speaks with Soviet citizens, the more one becomes convinced of this fact, the more one feels the pull of human brotherhood."

After a few more weeks of intensive sightseeing and studying of various aspects of Socialism, Mr. Jones expects to return to America about the middle of September.

DEATH FOR THE LEAGUE?

The apparent failure of the League of Nations in its attempt to bring about a peaceful settlement of the Italian-Ethiopian controversy has brought out the same chorus of doom that has accompanied every international crisis since the founding of the League.

The predictions that the League is destined to become extinct come, for the most part, from those who have never had faith in it. There has never been a widespread disposition on the part of the United States to join wholeheartedly in the work of the League, which it declined to join.

This attitude is due principally to the fact that the organization was conceived near the end of the World War. The United States at that time had had enough of attempting to settle the affairs of Europe and would have no part in it.

It is doubtless true that the loss of prestige from its most recent failure will

not strengthen the League in the near future. However, the world cannot look with equanimity upon an Italian-Ethiopian slaughter without a reaction against war and a realization that something must be done to prevent war in the future. Therefore, in the end the clash between Italy and Ethiopia may work to the advantage rather than the disadvantage of the League.

Possibly we have expected too much of the League. After all, it is a comparatively new departure in human experience. To expect that in less than a quarter of a century nations should cooperate and abide by its decisions is not reasonable.

The League is an idea, perhaps for the present it is built too much upon idealism. But as long as there is a possibility of war it will not die. It may have its ups and downs, but women cannot see their sons go off to battlefields, young men cannot look forward to needless sacrifice of their lives, without hoping that there is another way out. So far, the League is the only idea brought forth that gives even the faintest hope of being that other way.

The League as constituted is no all-powerful authority. It cannot from some super throne command nations, as some would expect. It is dependent upon its component parts. Their weaknesses are its weaknesses.

Consider the nations of the world which today threaten its existence. Germany has withdrawn its membership, not through the action of the whole people, but through the action of one man, Hitler. Japan has likewise withdrawn, but Japan is ruled not by its people, but by its arrogant government. Today Italy threatens withdrawal, but its threat is not based upon the opinion of the whole Italian people.

Those three nations, Italy, Japan and Germany, more than any other three, are considered menaces to the peace of the world. The consensus is that Italy, Japan and Germany will not long remain under a system in which the whole people have no voice. Once the great majority of those people awake to the realization that they have meen misled, it is likely that they will throw off their yokes.

What is the situation in the nations of the world where public opinion has a fair opportunity to assert itself?

France continues to cling to the League, even in desperation at times, it seems. In England, in a recent unofficial poll, 11,090,387 individuals favored continued adherence, while only 355,883 were opposed. This, in spite of its apparent weakness.

The United States, being isolated from the other world powers, is in a somewhat different position. There is an attitude that we should keep our distance in regard to European troubles, and this attitude has been strentghened by the activities of the isolationists.

There has been no occasion in recent years for a clear-cut expression of public opinion on the question of the League. The only instance that might be taken as an indication is the vote on the adherence to the World Court in the Senate at this session of Congress. Although those for adherence lacked the necessary two-thirds, they did have a sizeable majority. Adherence was blocked by the activities of the most demagogic isolationist this nation has ever known, William Randolph Hearst. He was aided by the activities of the most ruthless demagogue this nation has ever known, Huey Long. Further aid was supplied by the prime example of a prelate turned politician, Father Coughlin.

Thus, while there has been no need on the part of the United States for an international alliance, there is evidence that if there was a need, the public would be in a receptive mood. The potentialities of the League, in other words, have not been permanently cast aside.

To say that the League's failure in the present crisis is proof that its principles should be cast aside permanently is to lose faith forever in the ability of man to live without war.

REICHSTAG HURLS DEFIANCE AT JEWS IN STIRRING MEET

Hitler, in Spirited Speech, Asserts Memel "Theft" Was Legalized by Geneva; Swastika Adopted as Nation's Sole Flag.

LITHUANIA SCORED FOR HOSTILE ACTS

German Citizenship, Under Legislators' Action, Is Restricted to Members of Germanic Race.

NURNBERG, Germany, Sept. 15.—(AP)—Adolf Hitler's reichstag, stung by the criticism of a New York magistrate against the nazi emblem, tonight pronounced the swastika to be the reich's sole flag, hurled defiance to Jews throughout the world and limited German citizenship to members of the Germanic race.

The specially summoned lawmakers acted after their fuehrer, in a fiery mood, had opened the reichstag session with a bitter attack on Lithuanians for their alleged treatment of Germans in the Memel territory, and had called upon the solons to approve three new laws.

Der Fuehrer and his legislators permitted Jews to continue as German subjects, but forbade them to fly any flag save the blue and white Zionist emblem.

Hitler and the reichstag also forbade inter-marriage between Aryans and non-Aryans and provided for punishment for sexual relations between the two.

They also forbade Jews to engage Aryan domestic servants under the age of 45 years.

Lithuania Accused.

Hitler charged Lithuania with responsibility for events in Memel which, he said, contained the seeds of trouble. Then he made known his refusal to allow Germany to be drawn into any international controversy in which she was not directly involved.

Expressing his contempt for communism, he voiced his appreciation of the United States government's regrets for the Bremen-Brodsky incident in New York. But he used it as an example of how Jewry, even in high places, allegedly fights against the nazi state.

(Magistrate Lewis Brodsky, in New York, dismissed five men arrested when the swastika was ripped from the prow of the German liner Bremen at a Manhattan dock last month, commenting that "in the minds" of the defendants and others the nazi emblem was a "pirate flag.")

The reichsfuehrer threatened in his brief but vivid speech to enact even more stringent laws if today's legislation fails to solve the Jewish problem.

Two of the three laws he decreed dealt with the Jewish question; the third honored the swastika as the national emblem.

Memel Situation.

In a speech that lasted but 12 minutes, the reichsfuehrer told his specially-summoned lawmakers in apparent reference to both the Ethiopian and Memel questions that Germany would take no position on "any question which does not directly affect us," but "we look with interest to Lithuania."

"Memel, which was stolen from Germany and legalized by the League of Nations, has for years tortured Germans only because they are members of the German nation and because they wanted to remain Germans," he declared.

"They are treated worse than criminals in other countries just because they are Germans."

Tremendous applause greeted his statement.

The German dictator, opening the reichstag shortly after 9 o'clock tonight, plunged immediately into foreign questions. He said he desired to make a short statement before introducing several laws at the close of the nazi party convention scheduled to end tomorrow with Army Day.

Memel Issue.

Of the Memel question he asserted: "Protests in Kaunas of signatory powers were without results. The German government looked upon all this with deep regret. We hope some day these assurances will not assume forms which might be regretted by the whole world.

"Preparations for coming elections constitute a breach of the treaty. Lithuania must be admonished with all possible means to hold to these treaties."

Hitler then went into the subject of communism and the alleged effects of the recent communist international congress at Moscow.

"The insult to the German flag in the United States for which the United States apologized in dignified form shows how far the international Jewish agitation has progressed."

He referred to the tearing down of the swastika from the liner Bremen in New York harbor last month.

Propaganda Charged.

Turning to anti-Jewish occurrences in Germany, Hitler told the legislators they grew out of the impatience of the German people "because German Jewry, encouraged by international propaganda, believed it could stage similar protests in Germany.

"In order to reach an amicable relation between the German people and the Jews the government will try to bring about legal regulations. The law, which will be read by Goering (General Hermann Wilhelm Goering, president of the reichstag), constitutes only an attempt at legal regulations.

"However, should this not work out we'll have to take it up once again."

With this the reichsfuehrer turned the meeting over to Goering, saying he would read three decrees.

He said by the first the "German flag will be given due honor and the second will be about Jews." The third he left undefined.

Before his references to Memel Hitler said:

"We do not wish the international press to pull Germany into any of its speculations. Sometimes it is said we will start a war with France, at other times that we are going to attack Austria, then again that we'll start a war with Russia. But I don't know where.

"The German government," he said, "does not see fit to conclude friendship agreements with every country which puts out its hands. However, the German government makes its decisions not against anyone, for it can take decisions only which can be brought into consonance with the conscience of the German people."

Goering, beginning to read out the three new laws, spoke first of the "debt of gratitude which the (nazi) movement owes to its symbol (the swastika)."

This was greeted with such a storm of cheering that the rest of his announcement was drowned out.

Race Problem - 1935

Europe

Courier 5-4-35

Pittsburgh Courier

France And Her Fairness To Black Citizens Told By French Officer In Letter

Received 5-4-35

From The African Morning Post
Accra, West Africa

We published in our issue of the 14th instant the regretable news that Africans resident in Germany and who married German women, are being subjected to the same persecution by Hitler, and his gang as the Jews. These men, or rather their sires, were living far away in Africa, and did not hope to dwell in the land of white men.

Following a policy of land-grabbing by European nations, Germans left their country, and, by the lash, and gun, and untold nefarious acts, forced black men to become part and parcel of the German Empire (happily now extant).

Today the descendants of these men are still receiving iniquitous treatment, because their forefathers accepted German rule, under duress.

Side by side with this tragedy, we find a selfish Germany clamouring to have back the rule of peoples whom it decidedly hates and for a purpose for which, she is, by race and inclination utterly incapable.

Looking across the vast expanse of mighty Africa, the world's provider, we find Africans under French rule smarting under unjust taxation without proper representation; under Belgian rule they suffer all forms of mal-treatment, even to bodily mutilation; under the British, we hear recently that African Chiefs in the Ashanti are to be deprived of their right to rule, because they fear to accept a gift being given to them; (well, do we remember the lines in Vergil's Aenid "Timeo danaos et dona ferentes"); under American rule, they are lynched by savage Americans, and "civilised" American women take pieces of their burnt flesh and keep in their homes as souvenirs.

In reply to the Hitler statement that "the mission of the new Germany is to protect Europe from the advancing East and the rising tide of Africa," the Japanese complain that "even in America the words 'Japanese' and 'Negro' are not mentioned in the same breath."

All this proves conclusively, that the African at home or abroad has no good to expect from the hands of the other nations of the earth.

If he desires to carve for himself a niche in the walls of the hall of fame, if he seriously desires to regain the pristine glory of his fathers, he, and he alone, must plan and work to achieve that end.

If we agree with the celebrated English writer Pope that the child is the father of the man, then youth is also the father of posterity.

The destiny of Africa can be made or marred by the youth of Africa, and it is time that he be about the business of his fatherland; and this business is to work so that Africa may regain her lost place in the sun.

To this end, the Youth of Africa must put behind self and pleasure and work for the good of his country, the desire of the nations.

CHICAGO, May 2—(ANP)—By strange coincidence last week, while southern members of the United States Senate, arose almost en masse to fight the Costigan-Wagner anti-lynching bill, a letter from Gratien Candace, a member of the French parliament from Guadeloupe, reached a friend in this city. The words of Deputy Candace from across the sea were such as to stir with deep emotion the negroes of the United States, victims of wage differentials under the NRA, victims of the inequities of the Agricultural Adjustment Act, victims of lynching, victims of economic and cultural discrimination.

While twelve million American Negroes were forced to listen to the voice of racial prejudice raised in the highest legislative chamber of their country, this grand black man from across the sea sent them a message painting the glories of French justice toward her black citizens.

French Believe in Justice

"France follows a policy of goodness, generosity and justice toward Negroes," wrote Deputy Candace. "She establishes no difference between blacks and whites, and the sentiments of the France of the Third Republic are the same as those of the France of the Revolution which broke the chains of slavery and made blacks citizens of France: also, they are those of the France of the Second Republic which proclaimed that no French territory could henceforth harbor slaves, and which made blacks and citizens of mixed blood the same as citizens of the white race.

"This explains why all French Negroes love France passionately and consider her the principal emancipator of members of the black race."

Unlike in the United States where prejudice seeks to restrict black citizens to menial occupations and closes the door of economic opportunity in their faces, opportunity of every sort is open to all French citizens who are competent to grasp it and Justice deals impartially with citizens of all colors. So proud is Monsieur Candace of his France that he boast of what she has done for black men. He writes further:

First Deputy in 1848

"We have always had since 1848 men of the black race in the parliamentary assemblies. In 1848, the first black man who was chosen was named Louis Matheiw who represented Guadeloupe. Since 1817, there have been either mulattoes or blacks in the assemblies of the Third Republic. Several have occupied places of note in the chamber, the senate and the government service."

M. Candace then describes some of the positions held by black men in France:

"M. Gerville-Reache was vice president of the Chamber of Deputies from 1904 to 1906.

"Mr. Alexander Isaac, a mulatto, was a member of the Commission of Justice of the Supreme Court of the Senate and vice president of the Commission of Inquiry of Algeria, president over by Jules Fery.

"M. Lemery, while representing Martinique in the Chamber of Deputies, was made undersecretary of state in the Department of Merchant Marine and Commerce in the administration of George Clemenceau during the World War.

"The same M. Lemery, now a member of the senate, was minister of justice, keeper of the seals and vice president of the national council of ministers in the cabinet of Gaston Doumergue.

"M. Delmont, a mulatto, is a deputy now from Martinique.

"The late M. Diagne, former deputy from Senegal, and myself, both served as undersecretary of state for the colonies.

Member of Two Cabinets

"I was a member of both cabinets of Herriot and Paul Boncour, after having been for many years vice chairman of the finance committee of the Chamber of Deputies."

Thus writes a black citizen of France, of black men who sit in the cabinet of that country, who hold positions of authority, serving their nation's welfare, while their black brothers in the United States, helpless themselves, must stand by while their new defenders withstand the onslaught of a prejudiced minority.

There are no wage differentials in France, no Jim Crow CCC camps, no discrimination in the allotment of public funds.

"France employs all means to ameliorate the material condition and to raise the moral level of the black citizens in her colonies," asserts M. Candace.

"Even as I write, the Economic Conference of Metropolitan and Overseas France, which has been in conference since December 3, is at the point offending its labors. Among the reforms advocated by this body, there is a set of questions of interest to the natives of the colonies, principally those which give to the Organization for Colonial Credit security to insure long-term loans at a low rate to the natives, and those which concern the allocation of a public improvements fund of 150 millions for major works in all the French colonies.

Natives Asked to Take Part

"In all the possessions of France the natives are called upon, directly and indirectly, to take part in administration, in the vote on the budget and in the control of expenses. The colonies which do not yet have deputies or senators in the Chamber, have local advisers of the government, through whom the native are represented, or financial delegates. In all ways, the native blacks are able to make their voices head in the heart of French assemblies."

Deputy Candace's next word is of special significance to American Negroes who now find themselves, beleaguered by race prejudice and unjustly dealt with.

"The colonies which are represented in the Parliament," he informs American Negroes, "find themselves in a position, through their representatives, to call attention to injustices in order to correct them when they became known.

"The white deputies place themselves, with distinction of party, at the side of their black colleagues when black citizens ask for justice."

All Stand Together in France

Then Deputy Candace makes another proud boast for his country:

"I am able to state emphatically that France has truly the sentiment of solidarity between all elements, white, Yellow and Black, which people the planet. She has a love of justice and she practices the true fraternity of human beings.

"From across the seas, I send a cordial greeting to all the Negroes of the United States, and I say to them, for all that France has done for the Emancipation of my race I have for her an imperishable regard which is the same as worship."

M. Candace was elected to the Chamber of Deputies in 1912 and has served continuously ever since. Before becoming a deputy, he was a professor in the School of Techincal and Professional Instruction. All his pupils were white Frenchman, from the better families, but they loved him. Also before he was a deputy, he was chief adjutant in the cabinet of Rene Viviani, minister of work in the cabinet of Clemenceau from 1906 to 1909. Candace is a member of the Academy of Colonial Sciences, and for 13 years, has been a member of the board of governors.

Gentile-Jewish Marriages Will Be Outlawed By German Government

BERLIN, May 12—(AP)—Notice that Germany soon may forbid marriages between Gentiles and Jews was given today by Julius Streicher, leading Nazi "Jew Baiter," in an address at Nurnberg.

Opening the "Germanic healers exposition," Streicher announced important public health legislation was coming with "the first step the official branding of marriages between Aryans and non-Aryans as miscegenation."

"The next move will be to forbid marriages between Germans and Jews altogether," he declared. Streicher charged that every year 100,000 young German girls are "ruined" through entering Jewish homes as servants.

The exposition, opened in connection with Germany's first "healers' festival week," purports to show how nature healing can and should supplant medical science, which is considered to be under Jewish domination.

Streicher, who is sponsoring the exposition, is the publisher of the newspaper Stormer, leader of the Munich anti-Jewish boycott committee and a close associate of Adolf Hitler.

Invitations said it would "unite all Germans having interest in the science of health, free from Jewish influences, born in German popular instinct and rooted in the blood and soil."

Since the advent of Adolf Hitler to power nature healing has come into vogue. Government health offices are deluged with offers and suggestions of faith healers, nature healers and medical practitioners of all sorts.

Streicher urges that scientific discoveries of Germany's leading medical men and the science of the past be wiped out and the remedies no longer applied because "they are merely unpunished methods of Jewish robbery and murder, clothed in the mantle of exact science."

"Thousands of German physicians and health practitioners," Streicher contended, "are healing patients in the natural manner without using even a trace of the ideas of these Jews."

Men whose medical researches and discoveries are particularly obnoxious to Streicher are: Rudolf Virrow, cellular pathology; Robert Koch, tubercular antitoxin; August von Wasserman, Wasserman test; Paul Ehrlich, Salvarsan; Emil Von Behring, serum therapy; and Albert Neisser, conococcus.

SINGER WARNS AGAINST NAZIS

Alberta Hunter Back From Triumphant London Season

Negro performers were warned yesterday to steer clear of Hitler Germany. Feeling against Jews and negroes has been fanned to such a point there, it was stated, that colored performers may encounter physical violence if they accept contracts in the land of the Nazis.

The warning was issued by Alberta Hunter, internationally famous songbird of stage and radio who returned to New York Tuesday on the S.S. Ile de France. Miss Hunter had just completed a triumphant tour of England, France and Denmark, which began in May, 1933. She discussed working conditions on the Continent during an interview with The Amsterdam News.

The singer, whose radio broadcasts created a sensation in London, cited a personal experience in Hamburg in support of her statements about Hitler Germany. While stopping there en route to Denmark, Miss Hunter stated, she was followed through the streets by small children who had been instructed by their elders to shout "Nigger, nigger, nigger!" German, petty officials were extremely rude in their treatment of Negro performers, she said, and at least one entertainer, Joe Cork, had been deported after journeying from Paris to Berlin on a contract.

French Conditions Bad.

Working conditions were bad in France too, she contended, but for different reasons. French discourtesies have halted the tourist trade, Miss Hunter stated, and as a result most of the night clubs and places of amusement have been forced to close. Negro performers have been stranded there, she said, and many have been reduced to the point of working for food or on commissions on drinks they may persuade customers to buy.

In direct contrast, working conditions in England and the Scandinavian countries are marvellous, the singer held. After an engagement at the Casino de Paris in France, she journeyed to Copenhagen where she scored a marked success at the National Scala. Later, she appeared at the Theatre Royal in Edinburgh, Scotland, before going to London where she realized her greatest triumphs.

Appearing first as guest artist with Henry Hall's orchestra in a special broadcast, Miss Hunter was next heard over the air with Lou Preager's band from the smart Club Ramonaga. This was followed by a broadcast with Jack Jackson's orchestra

American Sailor Detained In Anti-Jewish Rioting At Berlin

BERLIN, July 16.—(AP)—Reinforced police, warned against allowing renewal of last night's anti-Jewish rioting, kept crowds moving along Berlin boulevards tonight but the Reichsbund, organization of Jewish war veterans, warned members to be "ready for an emergency."

Cooling showers dampened unruly spirits, however, and there was no slightest hint of impending trouble evident in the big crowds of curious promenaders.

Patrol cars moved back and forth, policemen in threes were vigilant along the sidewalks and police officers were stationed at the movie theater where last night's rioting began. The theater had signed posters saying "House Sold Out."

Nazis and Jews alike have made strenuous efforts to prevent recurrence of the disorders, in connection with which an American midshipman was arrested.

E. W. Wood, of New York, midshipman aboard the battleship Wyoming, returned to his hotel today, after spending the night in jail and paying 50 marks (about $20) fine for fist-fighting, to describe vividly the disorders raging in Berlin.

A woman was knocked down before his eyes, Wood said, and another woman who protested also was felled. The man who hit her, the midshipman said, asked him:

"What do you think of that?"

After Wood expressed disapproval, the man asked him:

"What are you going to do about it?"

That started the fight which police stopped, arresting Wood. He said he did not know whether his adversary was jailed.

Several hundred other American middies along Berlin's great white way, the Kurfurstendamm, watched last evening's anti-Jewish demonstration, which lasted until the early hours of morning. One Jew was knocked unconscious, several show-windows broken, and Jews generally sent scurrying homeward from public places.

Today's efforts to return peace to the city came, on the one hand, from the Nazi-controlled state police, and, on the other, from leading members of the Jewish community and Jewish organizations.

The police warned "elements inimical to the state" that they could not pursue their "anti-governmental purposes and, through tumults, bring the state and the (Nazi) movement into disfavor."

While this warning was an obvious effort to counteract eye-witnesses' reports blaming members of the party and storm troops for the rioting, nevertheless it constituted notice that further demonstrations would be nipped in the bud.

The Jewish community for its part sent an appeal to all Jews to conduct themselves in the most modest manner possible in the streets and in cafes or other public places. Jewish sports clubs were ready to urge their members and other Jews not to go to cafes now nor stand before or attend movies with anti-Semitic tendencies.

The latter adminition was considered necessary because yesterday's riot began when Jews at the premier of the Swedish film "Petterson and Bendel" whistled during an anti-Semitic scene.

Leaders of Berlin's storm troops also sought to pour oil on troubled waters, ordering all storm troopers to don uniforms so that they would be conspicuous and instructing them to refrain from all anti Semitic demonstrations.

Race Problem - 1935.
Europe

Soviet Doctors Surprised, No Colored at International Meet

Afro-American - 9-21-35

By WILLIAM N. JONES

LENINGRAD, U.S.S.R.—Soviet doctors, called physiologists in this country, were surprised that not one single colored physician or scientist attended the International Physiological Congress which was held here recently.

L. N. Fedorov, editor Bulletin of All-Union Institute of Experimental Medicine, queried a representaive of the AFRO-AMERICAN as to attendance of colored doctors at other congresses in the past and expressed regret that some of them were not present.

Wide Development

Fedorov pointed out that the Leningrad session of the congress offered American colored doctors not only an unprecedented opportunity to study the advances made in the medical sciences, but an opportunity of studying advantages in medical development in a socialized country where every doctor is in demand.

The outstanding American delegate to the conference was Dr. Walter B. Cannon, white, of the Harvard Medical School. Dr. Cannon told the AFRO-AMERICAN that he was glad to see representatives of our group visiting Russia.

"Since coming to the Soviet Union," said, "I have seen many American visitors. That has been a source of satisfaction because I believe that the new developments here offer suggestions of ways in which we might improve our country, and as my countrymen learn of these developments they may tell others about them."

In a radio address here Dr. Cannon contrasted the effect of economic conditions in the United States and those in Russia on the present development of medicine and science. While appropriations for scientific advancement have been reduced in the United States, and the feeling of insecurity has been so strongly aroused that attention to investigative problems has become difficult, that here in the Soviet Union where the social importance of science is especially appreciated, the funds made available for the development and prosecution of scientific studies are greater than any other country in the world.

Need Doctors

Since the Soviet system of government provides free medical, hospital, sanatorium, and rest home treatment for every citizen, it will require the largest per capita army of doctors of any country. All doctors, 50 per cent of whom are now women, are paid by the government.

Any person may go to a clinic for free examination. The doctors not only prescribe treatment, but their prescription may include a special diet, different housing, a sojourn in a sanatorium or a rest cure at a health resort miles away.

Whatever he prescribes is carried out because the government pays the doctor, owns the house, the hospital where the operation is to be performed, the sanatorium and the health resort.

All of the big industrial plants, also owned by the government, have hospital, sanatorium and rest home units where workers get treatment.

At a Moscow hospital visited by the writer, where there were at one time about 1000 patients, there were 200 resident doctors. They had hospital case loads of from 12 to 18 patients.

Huge Institutions

The huge medical and scientific projects here stagger the imagination. In order to understand how the Soviet government can foster such heavy undertakings it is necessary to consider possible resources. Visualize, if you can, your city government, taking in all the money from every business from bootblack to big manufacturing plant, every theatre and public hall, the rents from every house and apartment and distributing it back in salaries and public welfare projects and you have the situation.

The newest hospital project, the All-Union Institute of Experimental Medicine, which was started in 1933, is planned to be the largest medical centre in the world.

The scientific research department of this institution alone will contain 4264 rooms and have a staff of 5000. Its yearly estimate for research material is 1,060 dogs, 744 cats, 2,415 rabbits, 2,475 guinea pigs, 2,400 rats, 13,315 mice, 640 birds, and 5,200 frogs.

Carrollton, Ga., Times
August 29, 1935

T-38

CONTEMPTIBLE

Yes, that is the only word that can express the disgust we feel in looking over "The Chronncle," a paper published in Rosslyn, Virginia, a marked copy of which was sent us a few days ago.

The marked article was the leading editorial, wherein were nearly two columns written under the head, "The Negro and Social Equality at the White House," to prove that Mrs. Roosevelt is a propagandist and practices social equality with negroes, socialists and communists.

It was for a less crime against his wife that Andrew Jackson killed, in a duel, a man who made derogatory remarks about Mrs. Jackson. Fortunately, for the editor of this vile sheet the days of the Code Duelo are past.

Though this vile sheet is published in a Virginia town, under the shadows of the Washington Monument, we do not believe its editor to be a son of Virginia, not even by adoption.

When an editor sinks so low as to attack the President by slandering his wife he is too contemptible to live among decent white people.

As a further evidence of the utter depravity of both the editor and his ville sheet we note on his editorial page, incorporated as an editorial, a signed article from "The Georgia Woman's World," of Atlanta, Ga. with the signature of Mrs. J. E. Andrews, who our readers recall as the writer who spawned the base slanders on Judge Claude Pittman last year. This article with the signature of this woman, was enough to brand the sheet as utterly unclean and unfit for decent hands, without reading further.

These two articles should have disbarred this slanderous sheet from the mails. Nor can we understand why such sheets are permitted free circulation in the mails.

If there be infamy more damnable than that of this latter article we cannot conceive that there is another woman in Georgia who could be induced to utter it. We had thought that the slanders uttered about Judge Pittman reached the lowest stratas of shame and infamy, but it seems that we were mistaken. There were greater depths to be reached and this writer has sunk to them.

As has been said of another: We can love our president for the enemies he has made.

Mrs. Roosevelt, though the wife of the president, is only a private citizen, entitled to all the courtesies and privileges of any other citizen and woman, and to attack the president by slandering her merits more than Jackson administered his wife's traducer.

Extreme Injustice to Jews

Germany has gone further in the expatriation of Jews than has been known in modern civilization. It has decreed that citizenship is denied even to those Jews who are native-born.

Telegraph
9-19-35
Macon, Ga.

Naturalized citizens have been debased in groups in some countries, but native-born citizens are supposed to be citizens always unless they voluntarily leave the country or put themselves beyond recognition because of violation of the criminal statutes. At the outbreak of the World War France revoked the citizenship of all Germans and Austrians who had been naturalized in France, but not of the native-born. In the United States the right to vote is the chief mark of citizenship; and this is revoked upon conviction of a felony, but governmental pardon may restore the right; and this restores citizenship privileges. Foreign-born citizens who have been naturalized lose their citizenship rights for specified causes in the United States, but this is always an individual matter, and has never applied to groups. The Japanese, Chinese and Hindus are ineligible for citizenship; and so are believers in anarchism, polygamy, etc., and those who are unwilling to swear allegiance to the Government, but any national scions born here, are automatically citizens, even though their parents be Japs, Chinese or Hindus; and they are given United States protection in foreign lands, just as are any other citizens.

It becomes difficult, therefore, for an American to understand the German attitude toward Jews. Hitler complains that Memel is brutal to Germans who have done no wrong, while he at the same moment is guilty of the same thing toward the Jews.

In ancient Rome citizenship was a personal matter. It was not territorial and did not apply to groups. A person or family had to qualify for citizenship. In the earlier conquests of different cities or nations the conquered peoples were used as slaves or vassals; but generally if they as individuals could meet certain governmental requirements they could gain citizenship. Later the policy became more liberal, and the Government of Rome found that it was decidedly advantageous to bind the people to the Government by granting

citizenship, to as many as possible instead of limiting it to as few as possible.

Germany under Hitler does not seem to have profited by the lessons learned in Rome; and the Nazi seem to want as many enemies as possible. In other words, if a person is not a Nazi he cannot be a German.

Even in the mediaeval times when citizenship was acquired only by royal grant, and then only when one had great wealth and was of the upper class, it was found that such a policy meant death to Government. That was one of the principal causes of the French Revolution. There had been a persistent denial of citizenship to any but nobles, landlords and householders; and in the beginning of American life, religion was a prerequisite for citizenship, but that was during the colonial days when Great Britain determined American policies. The difference between citizenship and non-citizenship was that the citizen was entitled to the protection of Government, and was supposed to be able to defend and support the Government. The non-citizen was merely a passive subject. He was sometimes denied the right to own land or to inherit property.

All that was changed in the name of democracy. Today the chief distinction between the alien and the citizen is the citizen may vote and the alien cannot; and the citizen can be drafted for military service; the alien cannot.

The propagandizing of aliens by their governments in the interest of communism, socialism, etc., started after the World War. Russian soviets wanted their people in other countries to learn what a glorious thing they considered communism, and they undertook to teach in every possible way. Then they became so enthused they tried to propagandize all the citizens of other countries, with the vain dream that they could rule the world from headquarters at Moscow.

The revocation of citizenship in Germany would mean ordinarily that the Jews would fall back on their own governments for protection and justice; but as those in Germany, being born there, have no other government they may truly be said to be a people without a country. This is something new in human relationships, and marks Germany as a country that has set a pace which no other country should seek to follow. No country or individual can afford to do an injustice, lest it become the seed or precedent by which the miscreant shall be destroyed.

AFRO Editor Is Dinner Guest of Red Minister

Afro-American
9-21-35
Baltimore, Md.

By CHATWOOD HALL

MOSCOW — William N. Jones, managing editor of the Philadelphia office of the AFRO, left Moscow two weeks ago on the first leg of his return to America, after touring the country by plane, train and auto for one month.

He is travelling home by way of Warsaw, Vienna, Geneva, Paris and London.

On the eve of his departure, Mr. Jones was by special invitation a dinner guest at the home of Litvinov, Commissar of Foreign Affairs of the USSR and chairman of the League of Nations Council.

Attends League

While in Geneva, last week, Mr. Jones attended the sessions of the League of Nations Council as a newspaper observer among the hundreds of newspaper men from all over the world who are concentrated in the Swiss city in connection with the Italo-Ethiopian dispute. He discussed the Ethiopian viewpoint with the chief of the Ethiopian delegates, Martin, who is also Ethiopian minister to London.

Note—His steamer arrived in New York Tuesday, September 17.—Ed.

During his one-month stay in Moscow, Mr. Jones has visited the Principal points of interest and has seen immense Socialist construction projects, including the new subway, the second line of which is being feverishly rushed to completion. Other of the more important places visited included the famous Bolshevo Labor Commune, the State Publishing House of Foreign Literature, where he learned that Pushlin's works are the 'Best Sellers' Park of Culture and Rest, Museum of Fine Arts, Central Children's Palace of Culture, many of the theaters, including the noted Bolshoi Theater and other buildings.

He expressed himself as being highly satisfied and delighted with his first trip to the Soviet Union, when interviewed a few minutes before his train left. Conditions were found to be quite different from the distorted pictures painted by most of the bourgeois newspapers.

Leningrad, USSR -- Nancy Cunard, well known poet, writer, journalist and publisher of the anthology, 'Negro' is spending a one-month vacation in the Soviet Union. When interviewed in her hotel last week, she declared that if war breaks out in Ethiopia she will be in the thick of battle as a newspaper correspondent.

Race Problem—1935
Europe

NEW YORK SUN

JUL 18 1935

Germans Assail Jews Again

Paper Demands Penalty for Association With Aryan Women—Campaign Continues.

BERLIN, July 18 (A. P.).—Nazi Jew-baiters persisted in their anti-Semitic campaign today, dropping more violent methods by Government order, but turning to the written word to demand death to Jews for various associations with Aryans.

The newspaper Judenkenner, which rivals the Stuermer in anti-Semitic activities, advocated the death penalty for Jews guilty of intimacy with Aryan women.

The Nazi party's syndicate service, in an article in the National Sozialistische Partei Korrespondenz, demanded that Jews be forbidden to rent apartments to Aryans, engage Aryan domestic help or accept Aryan clients, under pain of death if necessary.

A post card depicting an Aryan girl standing in a gutter with a Jewish couple and surrounded by Storm Troopers was shown in a conspicuous place, with a placard around the girl's neck bearing this rhyme:

"A swine am I, the town about,
With Jews alone do I go out."

Printed in large type below the picture was a warning to passers-by on a main thoroughfare to the Potsdamer Platz: "Do you want to be photographed like that?"

Reports from the Schoenberg district said large crowds congregated before a Jewish-owned shop there, but that the disturbance was confined to shouts as the police looked on.

Controlled Press Complains.

The controlled press protested bitterly against "atrocity" reports abroad of the anti-Semitic disorders, authough they did not deny that the outbreaks occurred. Columns were devoted to criticism of such reports under such headlines as "Unjustified Foreign Atrocity Campaign," "Malicious Reports" and "Exaggerated Descriptions."

One newspaper, the Nachtausgabe, asserted: "No German editor ever would think of publishing any of those foreign bloody clashes which occur daily."

It cited as examples "the lynching of two Negroes and strikes in which fifty persons, seriously injured, were treated in hospitals."

(Reports of lynchings in the United States have been delivered to the German press by the official agency and published, as have been reports of disorders elsewhere such as those in Belfast, northern Ireland).

Musician Loses Post.

Another new element entered the anti-Semitic campaign as it became known that Prof. Gustav Havemann was summarily removed several days ago by Propaganda Minister Paul Joseph Goebbels from his post as leader of the Reich Musicians Guild.

Prof. Havemann was reported to have aroused Goebbels's displeasure when he attempted to intervene on behalf of the composer Paul Hindemith, who has been under the suspicions of the Nazi regime, because of his Jewish affiliations.

Havemann, one of the oldest Nazi musicians, began a campaign for his reinstatement. He had taken Hindemith's part with Wilhelm Furtwaengler, who resigned last September as leader of the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra, in opposing the Nazi boycott of Hindemith's works.

It was reported that Adolf Hitler virtually agreed with Havemann's contention that Hindemith should be given a clean bill of health, but that Goebbels—unaware of Hitler's views—dismissed Havemann, nevertheless.

No Time for Hypocrisy

N. Y. Amsterdam News
7-19-35

FROM THE moment that Hitler first laid down as a cardinal principle the propagation of race hate, The Amsterdam News has condemned him, his brutish followers, and his pagan philosophy. We have seen in his persecution of the Jews too close a parallel to the oppression which black folk suffer here in this "land of the free."

Our position on the German chancellor remains unchanged. We are bitterly opposed to every step he takes in his return to the barbarism of the Middle Ages. We are equally opposed, however, to the hypocrisy of most of Hitler's American critics. Blind to the oppressions in this country, they are eager to denounce those in foreign lands.

A case in point is our contemporary, The New York Herald Tribune. In its issue of July 19 this defender of the status quo piously comments:

"At no time within the past generation that we can recall has any government with which the Reich would like to be compared first exercised its undoubted sovereign right to disenfranchise an element in the population amounting to a hundredth part of it, then imposed upon that element social and economic disabilities which robbed it of every material and intellectual weapon of defense and then used highly disciplined government henchmen in disguise to visit upon innocent and defenseless members of the disenfranchised caste the bestial fury of the congenital bully."

This statement is a lie, a damnable lie, and The Herald Tribune knows that it is a false, misleading and vicious misrepresentation. If the Swastika is an emblem of racial oppression, the Stars and Stripes are equally so. This country has consistently refused to recognize one-tenth of its population as an essential part of humanity. It has disenfranchised this tenth part. It has imposed social, economic and political disabilities upon these people. It has systematically encouraged the mass murder of these people through bestial mobs, through denial of economic opportunity, through terrorization. Government officials—sheriffs, deputies, police officers, army officers and political officeholders—have encouraged and participated in mob action against "innocent and defenseless members of the disenfranchised caste."

All this and more The Herald Tribune knows. Yet it can remain silent in the face of this while weeping coplously over the fate of Jews in Berlin. The persecuted Jews, as well as Catholics, Communists, Socialists and trade unionists in Hitler's Reich deserve the sympathetic understanding of the civilized world. They deserve also every possible aid to free them from their present state of oppression. But such distortion of facts as The Herald Tribune has been guilty of helps no one, here or abroad.

England, France Agree On Peace Plan At Geneva

Britain And Italy At Odds Over Scope Of Meeting Called To Prevent War

New Draft Written

Rome Declares Monopoly On Minerals And Fuel Which May Be Needed

Copyright, 1935, the Associated Press

GENEVA, July 31.—Great Britain and France were believed tonight to have reached a common basis for action on League of Nations Council procedure to soothe the tense Italo-Ethiopian dispute.

At midnight, after a second conference with Anthony Eden, Great Britain's chief envoy, Premier Pierre Laval, of France, was understood to have finally approved important modifications in a formula draft insisted upon by Eden.

"It's finished for the moment," Eden told the Associated Press as the conference ended a day of fatiguing "behind the scenes" maneuvers, forced by a flat Italian demand at today's open council session that discussion of the crisis be limited to arbitration and British insistence on an ultimate thrashing out of the whole quarrel.

In British circles it was reported that Eden, acting upon telephoned instructions from the British cabinet, refused to accept an earlier draft of procedure on the ground that it was not strong enough.

Laval Confers With Italian

After Eden retired, Laval at once invited General Pompeo Aloisi, chief of the Italian delegation, to his room and read him the amended draft.

Some apprehension was voiced in British circles that Italy may not accept the new draft which unofficially was reported to deal with four points:

(1) Conciliation and arbitration is to continue.

(2) Neither Italy nor Ethiopia is to resort to war measures in the meantime.

(3) Appointment of a fifth arbitrator to the deadlocked Italo-Ethiopian conciliation commission.

(4) Signatories of the 1906 treaty—Great Britain, France and Italy—will lend their good offices to obtain a general broad solution of the conflict.

Today's open clash between Great Britain and Italy developed as the council met in momentous session to seek ways of saving Africa from war and, after an hour, adjourned to give negotiators 24 hours to work out a basis for resumption of arbitration and conciliation procedure.

Ethiopian Sees Only Failure

Ethiopia's representative, Prof. Gaston Jeze, who backed up Britain's demand that the Council's agenda not be restricted, told the council arbitration had failed and there seemed "no hope of its succeeding." He added:

"The general situation between Italy and Ethiopia is steadily growing worse."

Hours before the council assembled secretly at 5 p.m., Italy's stand had been foreshadowed in the words of an Italian spokesman, who said:

"Conciliation has not really begun because Ethiopia wants to bring in other frontier questions. It would take years to settle territorial questions.

"We have come to Geneva merely to advocate the resumption of conciliation. . . . .the world seems to forget Italy is literally suffocating. Our population is increasing yearly by 500,000. We must expand or perish. Ethiopia, with its undeveloped resources, offers the solution. . . . . It may be necessary to occupy certain districts."

Hence council members and observers were little surprised when Baron Pompeo Aloisi, heading Italy's delegation of seven, told the gathering he could not participate in discussion of matters other than arbitration.

Capt. Eden temporarily agreed to the Italian's demand that discussion be restricted.

He emphasized, however, that his agreement was temporary, saying the Council's right to discuss other questions—if that seemed desirable—would not be prejudiced. Maxim Litvinoff, Soviet foreign commissar and council president, agreed with Eden.

The Council reassembles tomorrow at 5 p.m.

ROME, July 31.—(AP)—Benito Mussolini seized control of Italy's metal and fuel imports for possible war use today while his newspaper, Il Popolo D'Italia, renewed demands for "total solution" of Rome's quarrel with Addis Ababa.

"The only judge is Italy," Il Popolo said in an editorial believed to be from Il Duce's own pen. It declared the problem "not one of treating with Geneva, without Geneva, or against Geneva."

An official spokesman, meanwhile, denied reports received at Geneva, where the League of Nations Council met to consider the African crisis, that 15,000 Italian soldiers sent to East Africa were ill of dysentery.

Two royal decrees issued today marked another phase of Italy's intensive preparation for war. One gave the govern-

ment full monopoly, under two main bureaus, of coal, coke and their by-products and of copper, tin, nickel, sheet and other needed metals. The other empowered the government to requisition shipping for troop transport.

The monopoly, technically effective tomorrow, although private operators were given one month to liquidate contracts, was decreed "to regulate the acquisition on the foreign market in relation with bettering the possibilities for development in the Italian export field," an official communique explained.

THE NAVAL AGREEMENT

Mr Baldwin's Speech at Mass Meeting

FIRST PRACTICAL MOVE IN DISARMAMENT

Not Against Other Power's Interests

EUROPEAN RECONCILIATION BRITAIN'S POLICY

London, July 1

The Prime Minister, Mr Stanley Baldwin addressing a political mass meeting during the week-end described the Anglo-German Naval Agreement as the first real practical move in disarmament that had been accomplished since the War.

Most of his speech was devoted to domestic questions but in a brief reference to Foreign affairs he declared the intention of the Government to continue to follow the paths of peace and reconciliation in Europe and elsewhere. "The Covenant of the League is the sheet anchor of the British policy. There is no need for me to re-affirm our intention to fulfil our obligations under the Treaty of Locarno, or that the objects set out in the London Declaration of February 3rd remain our programme and it is our earnest hope that the whole of it may be realised."

The Anglo-German naval pact, he continued, implied no deviation from that wholehearted cooperation between Britain and France and Italy recently affirmed at Stresa. They have been at pains to reassure the French and Italian Governments on that score. The naval agreement was a practical and forward step towards international limitation of armament by which the French and Italian interests and liberty of action had not been prejudiced. Indeed, emphatically the reverse. He believed it to be the first real and practical move in disarmament accomplished since the War.

Having related how the whole atmosphere before the Great War had been poisoned by Anglo-German naval rivalry Mr Baldwin continued: "I regret profoundly the observations from one or two members in the House of Commons that you cannot get the Germans to keep their words. When you are trying to negotiate limitation of armaments or disarmament what can you do if you do not trust? You revert straight to the law of the jungle and no progress is possible."

* The rest of the speech was lost through atmospherics.

25,000 GERMANS HEAR STREICHER DEFEND COUNTRY

Says U. S. Should Keep Quiet—Declares This Country's Treatment of Negroes Worse Than Germany's Treatment of Jews.

BERLIN, Aug. 22—(ANP)—Speaking before 25,000 Nazis here Wednesday night, Julius Streicher, king of Germany's Jew haters, in discussing the criticism in America of the Nazi's treatment of the Jews, scored the Americans for their inconsistency based on the treatment accorded Negroes in the States, especially the Southern States of the United States.

Streicher declared that no country that sat idly by and saw citizens who had won their rights of citizenship on the battle fields as well as through their contributions to the general progress and advancement of the country, lynched by prejudiced and maniacal mobs should, raise its voice in protest against the treatment being meted out to Jews in Germany.

"We do not kill Jews in Germany," declared the speaker. Perhaps they would like for us to do so, that is the Jews, but we have other and more civilized methods of punishing them. In America, however, Negroes are killed by mobs without fear of punishment and for the most trivial reasons. Six have been lynched in the southern states during the past few weeks and only the sending of troops to the scene stopped the wholesale lynching of 11 Negroes in South Carolina. In no case, have the lynchers been punished. Yet Germans are being criticized by Americans for their inhumane treatment of the Jews.

"Negroes in the United States, in most of the States, are forbidden to marry whites legally, just as we are attempting to prevent the marriage of Jews and Germans. And whenever a Negro marries a white woman that woman is ostracized and no matter what her social standing was prior to her marriage to her Negro husband, she is described as of the lower social order. But white men consort with Negro women freely, even in the Southern States, which accounts for the thousands, perhaps millions of mulattoes in the United States."

The ban on Jewish business and the running out of Jewish business men who rival German industrialists and business leaders, finds a parallel in the way Negroes in the Southern States who, after building up large and lucrative businesses, and professional men who attain wealth through their professions, are driven out of the town in the south for any make-shift reason and in many cases beaten and humiliated before they are forced to leave the homes and businesses they have established, which in the end is due to the jealousy of the whites in the particular section.

Jews are not permitted to attend theatres operated by Germans in this country and in the United States, the same proves to be the lot of Negro Americans in America. Negroes are prohibited and segregated in the theatres in southern states and even in the capitol of the United States, Washington, D. C. They must live at their own hotels, eat in restaurants owned and operated by them or by Greeks for them. They are denied the right to vote in Democratic primaries, despite the fact that thousands of them living in the south are better qualified educationally and otherwise than the whites, whose white faces qualify them for the franchise. They must attend separate and in most cases inferior schools in the southern states, although they pay enormous sums into the city, county and state treasuries in taxes.

The treatment, the speaker pointed out, of Negroes in America was far worse than that accorded Jews by the Nazis and America's criticism should be turned in that direction rather than toward Germany. Concerted action in remedying the plight of Negro citizens in the United States would do much toward solidarity of purpose and the happiness of the entire country.

Labor - 1935
Unions, Strikes, etc.

Race Problem - 1935
Europe (14-2-36)

Soviet.

RUSSIA PUNISHES SIX HIGH OFFICIALS FOR BROADCASTING NEGRO SPIRITUALS

Phonograph Record of Paul Robeson Singing "Steal Away" Is Taboo In Communistic Country

New York, Jan. (JNP)—In a wireless dispatch to the New York times dated the date of January 1, it is stated that "as a result of the recent broadcasting by the powerful Comintern station at Moscow of a phonographic recording of the voice of Paul Robeson, the American Negro, singing the spiritual "Steal Away to Jesus," six prominent Soviet wireless officials and announcers have been removed from their posts."

"In addition, M. Kazhentsteff, chairman of the All Soviet Broadcasting Committee, published an apology to the Soviet public for subjecting it to hearing such 'baneful items.'

"The Soviet press explains that although Mr. Robeson's songs are wrapped in a semi-religious atmosphere they must be interpreted by listeners as a protest against the treatment of the Negro race under a capitalist regime.

SOVIET NEGRO POULTRY EXPERT DISCOVERS METHOD TO AID STATE FARM

MOSCOW, U.S.S.R. - (CNA) An ingenious discovery by George Tynes, Negro poultry expert, enabled Poultry State Farm No. 39, Middle Volga Territory, to successfully fill its quota of eggs and meat.

Tynes specializes in the breeding of ducks and geese. He has developed a method which has produced fowls capable of high productivity.

2-16-35 newyork, Negro.

Method Produces Better Fowl

Fowls laying 100 to 200 eggs are segregated from those who lay less. During the egg laying season, the geese and ducks receive a daily ration of milk in addition to the diet of wheat barley and oats.

2162 Seventh Avenue

Tynes' suggestion of plastering the coops during the winter season resulted in an enormous reduction of deaths among fowls. During the new year, he hopes to introduce electrically heated coops and add corn to the diet of the fowl. These additional improvements will yet add to the productivity.

FARM FAMILIES PROSPEROUS

The seventy-five families living on the state farm are well-to-do. Bread, milk, eggs and meat are plentiful. Tynes himself killed a 140-pound pig just before the November holidays.

The Peoples Commissariat of Agriculture has invited Tynes to present his program for the coming season.

All Races Take Part In Soviet Congress

MOSCOW, Great Kremlin Palace.—At ten o'clock tonight ended the world's most unique congress, the like of which does not exist anywhere, when a medium-sized man with a Van Dyke beard announced. "I declare the Seventh All-Union Congress of Soviets of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics closed." It was M. I. Kalinin, chairman of the Congress speaking to approximately 2,000 delegates who for ten days have been in session in this magnificent palace.

Strains of the "International," revealing the international kinship between Russian workers and the toilers of all nationalities and countries, reverberated through the vast palace as the "captains" and "kings" departed for their homes scattered over one-sixth of the earth.

An idea of the democratic make-up of the Congress, revealing the political and social equality existing under Socialism, may be gained from the fact that 58 nationalities were represented, of which there were 157 Jews, 28 Kozaks, 235 Ukrainians, 50 Georgians, 21 Turkomen, 30 Armenians, etc. These and the other national minority groups enjoyed full and equal voting rights.

ALL CITIZENS TAKE PART

That all strata of the population participated in the Congress, which is the supreme governing body of the Soviet Union, is revealed by the social composition of the delegates. Thus, there were 378 women, 472 delegates of peasant descent, 158 army and navy men, 936 production workers in factories and plants and other organizations, and numerous others engaged in professional, engineering, scientific and other forms of useful labor.

After having heard the reports of directors of different branches of the people's economy—heavy industry, agriculture, textile, chemistry, etc.—during the first sessions, the last session was devoted to the following momentous questions: (1) further liberalization and democratization of the electoral system by adoption of direct elections in place of indirect; (2) equal elections in place of unequal; (3) secret in place of open balloting; (4) election of a new Central Executive Committee for the entire U.S.S.R., and (5) election of a new Council of Nationalities.

Already the most democratic in the world, the Soviet system will be made still more democratic by the changes which have been adopted and decreed put into effect at once. Some idea of the simplicity and directness of the Soviet system may be seen in the fact that these changes were proposed, voted upon, and decreed without any red tape or lobbying.

NEW SYSTEM OFFERS CHANGES

Under the new electoral system, the electors will elect directly the members of all organs from the lowest to the highest (formerly, direct elections were made only to the city and village Soviets but not to the higher organs.) Equalization of elections gives the rural Soviets equal representation with the city Soviets. For instance, formerly city Soviets elected one delegate to the Congress for each 25,000 voters, while rural Soviets elected one

delegate for each 125,000 voters. Now there will be parity.

The liberalizations and democratizations of the Soviet election system should have especial interest for American Negro workers, coming as they do at a time when Fascism is growing rapidly in their midst and when they are being compelled to rush into court to plead for the ballot which is already supposedly theirs not only by right of birth, but by right of their fundamental law, the Constitution.

During the election of members of the new Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R., which is the governing body until the next Congress, thunderous applause greeted calling of the name of Stalin as a candidate for a place on the committee. This committee is headed by seven chairmen, one from each of the seven republics comprising the Union. An adjunct of the committee is the Council of Nationalities composed of 150 members.

So vast is the territory of the Workers' Republic that many of the delegates will be travelling for more than two weeks before reaching their homes. Those from the Far North will be compelled to use skis and dog teams for part of their journey; those from the Far East must spend two weeks on fast trains, and those from Soviet Central Asia will have to utilize camels and donkeys for stages of their return.

A Column From Moscow

By CHATWOOD HALL

MOSCOW.—Going today into a laundry conducted by Chinese citizens, I found that the manager spoke perfect English, although he has never been in England or America. His fellow Chinese workers spoke only the Russian language and, like the manager, knew no Chinese. They were all born and raised in Moscow.

While attending an informal international gathering which recently discussed the colonial situation in Africa, the writer found an Englishman and a Russian who spoke the Zulu language, a Negro who spoke only French and Russian, a colored American who spoke only German English, and Japanese who knew only Russian English.

On those extremely rare occasions when a Russian mother, walking with children, sees a Negro, she immediately points him out to her children. But she points him out not (as an American mother would do) as an innately inferior human being, a person to be shunned and ostracized, she tells her children that here is our friend, our brother, our comrade, who, except for color, is the same as any other human being. Russian children grow up without any conception of race prejudice against other natioalities, be they white, yellow, black or brown.

Moscow is a town dotted with squares, wide areas the like of which one seldom finds in American cities. Streets cut through some of these squares, while from others streets radiate like spokes from a wheel hub. Interesting are the names of many of these places. There are: the Place of the Uprising, Place of the Horses, Place of the Communes, Place of the Collective Farms, Place of the [illegible] Comunists, Place of Triumph, etc. In the center of the city one finds the leading squares to be: Place of Pushkin, Place of the Revolution, Place of the Theater, and the world-renowned Red Square in front of the hoary Kremlin.

The number of children that one sees in Moscow and other Russian cities is amazing. And there is not one illegitimate child in the vast Soviet Union. Every child is born legitimate, is entitled to its father's name and support. While in other countries the birth-rate is declining, Russia has the highest birth-rate in Europe. And it increases year by year. This is striking evidence of the healthful conditions existing, fabricated stories of famine and starvation to the contrary notwithstanding. Undernourished, famine-ridden countries do not increase their birth-rate.

Red is the most popular color in Russia. Most of the tramcars and automobiles are painted red, the flag of the country is red, men and women often wear red shirts, young boys and girls sport red neckties, banners and placards are red, coffins and hearses are usually red, and there is the merciless red terror against counter revolutionaries, dwindling remnants of the former exploiting classes.

While in Berlin not long since, the correspondent found the streets to be, in American slang, "lousy" with prostitutes. Evidently they do not subscribe to the Fascist race purity theory, for they ply their trade upon all comers — Jews, Chinese, Japanese, Latins, or what have you. Perhaps it won't be long before Herr Hitler will have their licenses amended to read that they are permitted to peddle their wares only to "pure-blooded" Teutons.

U.S.S.R. Lauded, Lies Refuted By Leading Negro Churchmen

MOSCOW, U.S.S.R., June 3.—Scoring the false reports of starvation and tyranny in the Soviet Union which are appearing in the Hearst and McFadden publications in the United States, C. Phillips, prominent Harlem churchman and civic leader, enthusiastically praised the Soviet constructions and achievements.

Phillips is an executive official of the Epworth League, youth group of the Harlem Salem M. E. church and member of the American delegation to the "May Day" celebrations in Moscow.

"What I found upon my arrival in the Soviet Union is far above my expectations. Such tremendous construction, such industrial and cultural achievements cannot help but make a tremendous impression," declared C. Phillips.

"It is needless to say that the advantages enjoyed by Soviet workers are inaccessible to workers in any other country."

"Particularly gratifying is the absence of any race distinction," said Phillips. In Soviet Hollywood, as he named the Leningrad Film Studios, where the delegation was received, he mingled freely with actresses and administration.

"The May Day demonstration was very impressive—and what was most interesting is that not only the Red Army men carried arms—but many ordinary workers as well."

In contrast to rumors prevalent abroad, trade union officials answered all political and economic questions willingly, stated Phillips.

"Having served as a soldier myself, I was astonished at the friendliness and absence of military spirit among Red Army men. One felt as though he was attending a neighborhood club. The comradely relations between officers and men are especially fine."

Race Problem - 1935

Europe.

German Bride of Race Musician Feels 'Outlaw Edict' of Hitler

Banned from Native Land Because of Marriage

PARIS, France, Feb. 1.—Elan Tybersky, 26-year-old German blonde, who married Sterling Conaway, 34-year-old banjo player of Washington, D.C., in this city on December 11, last, by so doing, became a "woman without a country," under the latest Hitler ruling. Three weeks prior to the marriage, the period necessary to attend before a wedding can be effected in France, when the charming couple applied for a license, Miss Tybersky was informed that when she became the wife of the American musician her German passport and her French 'Carte d' Identite' would automatically become null and void.

Assuming the termination of both principles by the mere changing of her name she regarded the matter lightly, and although she is desirous of becoming an American citizen, with the foreknowledge of its impossibility without first residing in America for a limited period, she thought, despite her resentment for Hitler and his administration, the German consulate in Paris would courteously and promptly change her name on the passport thus enabling her to secure another French 'Carte d'Identite' obligatory of all foreigners who reside in France over sixty days.

Shortly before Christmas, having visited the American consulate and secured the above information concerning American naturalization, Mrs. Conway went to the German consulate with her passport to have the necessary alterations made as she planned to visit her parents for the holidays in her native Bochub, Riemke, Germany, not far from Dusseldorf.

In the office of the German consulate, Mr. Conway learned, after his wife explained the object of her visit, the number of her passport was copied; the passport stamped 'void' and flung back at her in a very humiliating manner, and she was contemptibly advised that having married a foreigner she was no longer a German citizen and the German government had nothing more to do with her.

The French Minister of Foreign Affairs who became acquainted with the case and the American consulate — in behalf of her American husband—gave her a tranport, with full government protection but valid for only fifteen days on which she journied to Germany last week, visited her parents, and returned to Paris Monday.

Mr. Conway who is a member of Freddie Taylor's "Swing Men from Harlem," the only Race orchestra entertaining in Paris at the Villa d'Est has started negotiations with Washington, D. C. in an effort to secure an American visa for his wife that she may be privileged to enter America at any future date they decide without having to enter under the 'quota' designed for the masses of foreign immigrants.

Nazi Victim Defender 2-2-35



STERLING CONAWAY



ELAN TYBERSKY

AFTER HYSTERIA, THEN WHAT?

Outbreaks against Negroes, closely paralleling those against Jews, are reported from Germany by Americans who formerly found it most hospitable—another proof that man is fearfully and wonderfully made.

The strange reactions exhibited under stress of great emotions are a recognized condition. For instance, the mob, that American hysteria which seizes whole communities and sets them to destroying what they have spent years in building. However no one expected the German people, the product of a hundred years of iron discipline to act like a lot of irresponsible youngsters. They do and the reason must be that they suffered more humiliation in the aftermath of the World war than the world realized.

Negro baiting in Germany is not due to the Negroes themselves, even though apologists point out here and there a case of a Negro jumping his board bill. Germans themselves have no perfect record for paying bills, as is easily seen from their refusal to pay the war debts as agreed. It must be that they are giving vent to their feelings. Being hurt themselves, they are seeking forgetfulness of their hurts in inflicting them on others.

When a people so easily regimented as the Germans forget law and order, it gives one pause, and sets him to wondering what next. If the Germans lose control of themselves under stress, may not the placid Chinese or the usually happy Negroes break out sometime? Hysteria is no exclusive privilege of the white race. Those prophets who have been declaring that the final cataclysm of carnage will come when there is a world war between the races realize that something or other will disturb the peoples who at present are characterized by the most even temperaments. The attitude taken recently by the Germans is a straw indicating that the wind is blowing that way, because nothing could be better established than that present prejudices are rasping the nerves of the brown, yellow and black peoples to the breaking point.

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Negro Girls Received Socially in England More Readily Than Men, Attorney Reveals

Sydney Christian Returns With Decree of Master of Law From London U.

A NEGRO GIRL is received socially in England more readily than a male member of her race because the British are apprehensive of intermarriage between Englishwomen and colored men, Sydney T. Christian, New York barrister, revealed yesterday following two years' law study in London.

Attorney Christian, who has resumed his practice at 240 Broadway, entered the Inner Temple, one of the Inns of Court in London in October, 1932, for study for admission to practice before the English Courts. He returned here January 24 on the Ss. Europa after spending the required ten terms of residence in the Temple. It is possible that he may be admitted to English practice without returning for the required eleventh and twelfth terms, as he passed his examinations there last year.

The local attorney, who was one of the six candidates awarded a Master of Laws degree last October by the University of London following two years' study in the London School of Economics, stated that there were not enough Negroes in England to constitute a problem or to arouse the ire of such race-baiters as Sir Oswald Mosley, leader of the British Union of Fascists. Sir Oswald has contented himself with attacking the Jews despite the fact that his movement is allegedly financed by money he inherited from his late wife, Lady Cynthia, a Jewess.

* * *

PREJUDICE against Indian students has grown more acute with developments in India, he stated, and Indians are subjected to a form of polite discrimination in London in spite of the British government's sincere attempts to guarantee their rights there. The Hindu and Moslem students in English schools seemed united on the question of Indian independence, he revealed, and appeared determined to secure this status with or without the passive resistance of Mahatma Gandhi and his followers.

Attorney Christian, who was accompanied here by Egbert Harney, a government official at Dominica, B. W. I., hopes to qualify upon admission as a New York expert on English law. He stated that he took advantage of the depression here to go to England and seek further preparation. Mr. Harney, who stopped here en route to Dominica, had also spent six terms in the Inner Temple. He will leave for home next week.

The local practitioner, a graduate of London University and New York University, is believed to be the first Negro to receive a Master of Laws degree from the latter institution. Of the six candidates honored in October, 1933, three were English (one a woman cricketeer from Australia) and two were natives of India.



Sydney T. Christian

GERMANY'S SIMPLE LEADERS

The following Associated Press dispatch from Berlin was printed on February 28:

BERLIN, Feb. 28.—Intense economic pressure, it became apparent today, has forced Reichsfuehrer Hitler to abandon for the present, at least the public manifestations of his cherished anti-Semitism policy.

This tendency was indicated definitely in the remarks of speakers at a meeting of political leaders and Nazi party members in which the Reich's economic problems were the subject of discussion.

While berating Jews as "vampires and exploiters," speakers concluded their addresses by saying:

"It may be asked of you why the administration undertakes nothing more against the Jews. It cannot for foreign political reasons, since further boycotts, foreign exchange difficulties and other troubles are thereby threatened.

"Therefore, you must go about and spread what you have been told here and act accordingly."

Behind this and similar developments was seen the strong influence of Dr. Hjalmar Schacht, minister of economics, who in fighting Germany's terrific economic battle cannot risk further boycotts and loss in bills of exchange.

He is compelled to avoid these hazards to the Reich's economic stability even though it may involve scrapping the clause that in the early days of Hitler's appearance on the political scene won possibly more adherents to his program than any of the other 25 planks in the Nazi platform.

Dr. Schacht, who has emerged with increased prestige from several similar encounters over questions of policy in the last three months, has kept a Jew at the head of his foreign exchange department. He also has been quoted as saying he would stand by his other Jewish co-workers.

The minister of economics yesterday assured the president of the Berlin Merchants' Association that "nothing further will happen to any member of your organization." Many Jews are enrolled in the association.

This dispatch describes a political curiosity of the first order. The heartless sissies and neurotics now ruling Germany were actively anti-Semitic so long as it was profitable. When in the end it became, inevitably, unprofitable financially, they soften the rigors of their rules. They are, accordingly, more contemptible now than in the beginning.

They were ungenerous, beastly and unintelligent in the beginning. Now they are hypocritical.

They have never been respectable. They are less respectable today than at any time before.

Jews Are Barred From Austrian Films

BERLIN, April 25.—(AP)—Austro-German "Anschluss" already has come to pass, in so far as their movie industries are concerned, it was revealed tonight as delegates from all over the world gathered for an international film congress here.

With one exception, the delegates learned in this evening's informal discussions, Viennese film companies have agreed to apply the "Aryan paragraph" to their productions, barring Jewish actors, scenario writers and cameramen, this because German theaters refuse films on which Jews were employed.

In return, German film companies have promised to invest capital in the Austrian industry, it was stated.

Considerable surprise was voiced by delegates when they learned that Great Britain at the last minute decided to send no delegation. It was explained foreign exchange difficulties caused British producers and theater proprietors to stay away.

Knoxville, Tenn. News Sentinel
April 26, 1935

Racial Welfare

NEWS that Germany has unsexed 189,677 unfits as part of the Nazi drive for "racial welfare" will bring a bitterly ironic smile to the face of the world.

To sterilize feeble-minded and epileptics in the name of eugenics while glorifying war is straining at gnats. In the Great War Germany lost nearly 2,000,000 of her finest males. That war cost the world 8,500,000 of its best young men and blighted the lives of three times that many. Just as the Napoleonic wars cut inches from the stature of European men so has this greater folly left a wake of stunted, diseased and generally inferior humans.

Modern war is eugenics' greatest foe. In glorifying war Herr Hitler becomes the great enemy of the racial welfare he professes to worship.

THE RACIAL DOCTRINE OF THE NAZIS

To the Editor of the Manchester Guardian

Sir,—May I correct the opinion recently expressed in your paper regarding the "Aryan paragraph" and the former German colonies? In your issue of April 16 you admit that "Germany was a highly efficient colonial administrator." But as Germany has now adopted a racial doctrine directed against all non-Aryans—and the natives of the colonies are non-Aryans—you argue that it would be incompatible with the very principle of the mandates to give her colonial possessions. Again, Mr. R. Williams, in his recent letter, recalls Major Attlee's speech in the House of Commons of April 14, 1936, where the same arguments are found.

The racial doctrine of National Socialism never sees its aim in the devaluation of other races. Nations, it says, can fulfil their mission in the world only by becoming their own true selves. That is why the "Aryan paragraph" is only directed against intermixture and predominance of other races in Germany; that, too, is why a German native policy in colonies would have for its aim the development of the native peoples on their own and congenial lines. The different races in the world are like the different instruments in an orchestra. There is no use of mixing them up. This is the racial doctrine of National Socialism, and so is the idea of the mandates.—Yours, &c.,

R. SCHOBER Member of the Dozentenschaft, Universität Berlin.

Berlin, May 25

We were careful to say that some of the existing mandatories fall short of their duties, but our point was that "in no mandatory area are the natives treated as the Jews are treated in Germany"—and that is a poor qualification for the possession of either "colonies" or "mandates."—ED. "GUARD."]

Race Problem - 1935

Literary Exploitation of the Negro.

Sheffield, Ala., Daily
January 17, 1935

ALABAMA WRITINGS ON NEGROES ARE STUDIED

Alabama writings concerning the Negro created a recent object of study for the Florama club of Florence State Teachers College.

Preservation of Negro legends and folklore was discussed by Leonard Burt, of Sheffield; a number of Howard Weeden's Bandanna Ballads were read by Elizabeth Craig, of Decatur and selections from Old Voices, another of Weeden's books, were read by Evelyn Hackworth, of Sheffield.

The life of Octavus Roy Cohen was discussed by Tommy Wilson, of Wilson Dam and one of his short stories read by Virginia Simpson, of Florence.

Race Problem—1935

South America

BRAZIL ALARMED BY INFLUX OF JAPANESE

28,000 Entered San Paolo Last Year; They Work A While, Then Buy Own Farm

SAO PAOLO, BRAZIL, Jan. 12.—(AP)—Admiration of the industry and skill of Japanese immigrants today mingled with concern over the possible effect immigration from the Far East might have on Brazil's future.

A report made public by the Sociedad de Amigos de Alberto Torres, patriotic association whose announced aim is to combat what it calls "the yellow peril" for Brazil, said nearly 28,000 Japanese immigrants entered Sao Paolo in 1934.

The secretary general of the organization said 28,620 in all came into Brazil during the year, 800 of them proceeding to farm lands in the tropical State of Para and the rest coming to Sao Paolo. This compared, he said, with the total of 35,000 immigrants of all other nationalities in 1934.

Sao Paolo officials and business leaders, expressing admiration for the parsimony and the rapid rise of the incoming Japanese, nevertheless in the same breath voice concern from "a broad national point of view."

Enriching the country as well as himself, the Japanese immigrant has come to till the coffee, cotton, and orange lands of the wealthiest among Brazil's 20 states, saving his money for two or three years, acquiring land, and emerging finally as a proprietor in his own right. Only a few of the 156,938 who have entered Sao Paulo are still laborers today.

Throughout the northwest of the State are rising communities built up by his independent hand. Lins, Arasatuba, Promissao, and Biriguy are Japanese towns an Sao Paulo.

"These more than 150,000 entries into our State may turn out to have been not 'immigration' but a 'Pacific invasion,'" said an official of the immigration department of the secretariat of agriculture.

Generally here, as in Rio de Janeiro, the view is held by responsible government and business leaders that the Japanese, even while taking the vows of citizenship in Brazil, retain their allegiance to their own country.

Luiz Piza Sobrinho, owner of a large coffee fazenda in northwestern Sao Paulo, director of the dominating Partido Constitucionalista in the State and a member of the Chamber of Deputies to be seated next year, said he recalled that an emissary came from Tokyo to call on every laborer that had emigrated to Sao Paulo.

"He asked every single one how large was his debt, or how large it would be if he owned rights to some land," Piza Sobrinho said. "Being told, he provided the sum, freeing the immigrant from all claims."

"That emissary actually left the immigrant in debt with the Mikado," commented an official.

Race Problem - 1935.

United States.

Charleston, S. C. News & Courier
November 13, 1935
Facts You Don't Like

Clemson College is supported in part by federal funds. About forty years ago South Carolina established a state college for negroes in order that the negroes might share in the federal funds without entering colleges for white boys. Had that not been done the alternative would have been for the state to give up its share of the Hatch and Morrill funds.

The school in Orangeburg is not of the high grade of Clemson. If a negro student demand entrance into Clemson, declaring that he is denied equal advantages with whites, from publicly supported schools, what are we to do about it? Negro students in Virginia, Missouri and North Carolina, instigated and assisted by Northern associations of negroes, have made just that demand.

Your government in Washington exhibits a strong tendency to assist state colleges and students. Many of your colleges not only accept the assistance but plead for it.

In the South are thousands of teachers who would welcome support of education and control of it by the federal government. They are thinking about improved schools and better salaries, not about the race question which affects every phase of Southern life.

Last Sunday The News and Courier printed pictures of negro girls under instruction in a "recreational camp" in Charleston. It is supported by federal taxation and borrowing. There is also a camp of the same kind for white girls in Charleston, and a few days earlier The News and Courier had printed pictures of them at their work.

You white South Carolinians who applaud the president and the New Deal are shutting your eyes and closing your ears to what is going on in Washington. Apparently you cannot be aroused to the truth that the national Republican and Democratic parties are now competing actively and openly for negro votes.

You don't understand that a tremendous campaign is going on in the Northern and Midwestern states in behalf of the "rights" and privileges of the Southern negroes. In these states all the schools, from the primary grades through the universities are mixed, white and negro children indiscriminately attend them. You are in no immediate danger of mixed schools in the South, but the campaign proceeds and there is no counter-campaign to it in the Southern States.

From 1865 until two and a half years ago the national Democratic party was a white man's party. It was the defender of the white government of the Southern states. The negroes in the North voted the Republican ticket to a man. Very nearly now, to a man, they are voting the Democratic ticket, and they number at least a million and a half voters.

Chandler's heavy majority in Kentucky last week had a substantial contribution from the heavy negro population that has flocked into Louisville and other towns from Gulf states in the last fifteen years.

In New York, Illinois, New Jersey, Ohio, Indiana, Missouri, Kentucky, Pennsylvania, Michigan, West Virginia and Delaware, the negro voters are now numerous enough to be the balance of power in closely contested elections and are voting for the Democratic candidate. In New York city your party is relying on 125,000 negroes in Harlem and a few other districts to support it next year.

In all these Northern and border states the negro voters are now more influential in selecting a president than are you white voters in South Carolina. You are tied hard and fast. You cannot even vote for president in the primary. Your votes, for practical purposes are already cast and counted. You are in Chairman James Farley's "west kit" pocket, and not yet have you produced a white leader in South Carolina who will tell you the truth about these things.

Many of you Roosevelt Democrats in South Carolina can think, but most of you do not want to think. It is unpleasant to contemplate what is in front of you. You are happy over your eleven cents cotton and your twenty-two cents tobacco.

Do you thinking South Carolinians imagine that a national party begging for negro votes in the North will dare much longer to allow you to suppress and eliminate, by your primary system, 400,000 negro adults?

Do you think that the Northern negroes will be content with recreational camps?

Can you conceive of it as possible that when the power of the states has nearly all been transferred to Washington, when the Washington government has become the insurance company against old age, when it has become pension-giver to all kinds of people, you will be permitted to go on as you have in dealing with the negroes in the South?

How can you expect a national Democratic party, courting negro favor in the North, to maintain a perpetual political boycott against negroes in the South?

What are you going to do about it?

You have got to do one of two things. You have got to submit as you are submitting and take the chances of the future. Or, you have got to assert yourselves an independent white Southern party, choosing electors who, in the electoral college, will make the best terms for you that they can.

They could make good terms. They could bring either of the national parties to their knees.

Dalton, Ga. Citizen
November 28, 1935

Speaking of Demagogs

To the Editor of The Dalton Citizen:

I have just received direct from The Georgia Woman's World, a local political organ published in Atlanta fourteen copies of the date of November 15, for distribution. Great glaring headlines, not only on the first page, but on every page, is bitter criticism of Mr. Roosevelt. You never see a copy of this newspaper except when Governor Talmadge, Tom Linder and George Hamilton get ready to run for office. The people of the state and every voter of Georgia should resent it as a gross insult to their intelligence. It brings back to our memory the "red suspenders and gourd," the veto of the old age pension act, and the governor's assertion that a dollar a day is enough for any man who wears the overalls.

Should the appointment of a Negro of New York to office be an insult to Georgia people when our southern senators and representatives in the United States congress wore themselves to a frazzle in an effort to prevent Senator Dyer, of New York, a republican, from placing a penalty of ten thousand dollars on each and every county in Georgia where a lynching occurs, penalizing every law-abiding citizen for the crime of others. Why should the people of Georgia be insulted by the appointment to office of a Negro in the state of Pennsylvania. The Negro children of that state are educated in the same school rooms with white children; they ride in the same passenger coaches; they sleep in the same sleepers, and occupy the same waiting rooms of passenger stations. All rights are equal there; you never see in the newspapers where the people of Pennsylvania are complaining.

Alabama is proud of Negro Dr. Carver, of Tuskegee, who, through his efforts as a scientist, has made it possible for the white race to be benefitted by extracting almost a half hundred different products from the lowly peanut. To the astonishment of the scientific world he is producing paint from the red clay of the hills of South Alabama. Why condemn our government for aiding such a worthy cause and call him and his work an insult to the people of the country. Alabama is not complaining. Why should our three low grade office seeking politicians be complaining? Just rotten politics of the lowest grade.

Now let's give The Georgia Woman's World, the Market Bulletin and the Statesman (as Ernest Rogers, of the Atlanta Journal says) a thought, something for Talmadge, Linder and Hamilton to explain to the public through their three political organs, and I leave it to the people of Georgia if it is an insult to the working people who wear the overalls. LISTEN: A Negro, Charlie Justice, an employee of Mr. Hamilton's office, the state treasurer's office of Georgia, is paid a larger salary than the assistant treasurer, Mr. J. G. Anderson. This unjust act on the part of George Hamilton naturally makes us ask from what state Mr. Hamilton hails, and how long he has been a citizen of Georgia? Don't take my word; see page one of the state auditor's report of 1934.

Governor Talmadge's department, known as the executive department, see page 59, state auditor's report, 1934, and you will find that his Negro gardener, Leonard Clark, receives a salary of $530; another Negro, George Bruce, receives a salary of $782; another Negro, James Smith, $782; another Negro, Will Johnson, $639; and there are eight other Negroes receiving large salaries.

There are many good farmers and laborers in Atlanta, Fulton county, and all over the state, who would gladly rush to the governor's office if they thought there was a chance in a thousand to land one of these places.

The hotels in Atlanta have replaced Negro service with good, deserving white men. Why can't the governor do this? Talmadge should clean around his own door before he criticizes Mr. Roosevelt and the democratic administration.

J. L. HARALSON.

Donalsonville, Ga.,
November 23. 1935.

Macon, Ga., Telegraph
November 29, 1935
MRS. WAKEFIELD'S PAPE

To the Editor of The Telegraph:

What do you think of this dirty circular sponsored by a Mrs. Wakefield of Atlanta? I have heard she was one of Talmadge's tools, and was really not responsible for the slimy sheet being issued.

I know that two years ago it was very active in supporting Talmadge by using the very same methods. One man receiving twenty copies today promptly placed them in the garbage can, where they belonged. When Congressman Mitchell, and other worthy Negro Democrats are making every effort to create a better understanding between the races it is indeed sad to see the state being flooded with such stuff.

I cannot believe the intelligent women of Georgia will be misled by these circulars.

Some folks are incapable of sustained loyalty to any party or any cause, and Governor Talmadge, like Governor Buffoon (or Laffoon) of Kentucky, will find it doesn't pay to stab the party in the back, after being honored by it.

Sandersville. JOE BUSBY

Ringgold, Ga., Record
November 28, 1935

SAYS "WOMAN'S WORLD," "STATESMAN" AND "MARKET BULLETIN" GROSS INSULT TO THE WORKING PEOPLE OF GEORGIA

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J. L. HARALSON.

NEGROES NEGLECTED, ATLANTAN TELLS BODY

Constitution

Noble Beall, Baptist Missionary, Says Race "As Class Is Suppressed."

1-2-35

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., Jan. 1.—(AP) Negroes as a "class, or group are the most neglected people in the south today," Noble Y. Beall, missionary of the Baptist Home Mission Board in Atlanta, told the Fourth Southwide Baptist Training Union Conference in its second meeting here today.

Noble had pointed out that 12,000,000 negroes lived in the nation, 10,000,000 in the south, ranging from 6.2 per cent of population in Missouri to 50.2 per cent in Mississippi, and that they "live everywhere."

In stressing his point of neglect, Noble told the convention this statement of neglect did not apply to every person, "but as a group they are not given the same protection in the administration of the law, the same rights and privileges in public conveyances, and equal amounts of public school funds, the privilege of voting in all beats, the same consideration by the public press, nor any one of a thousand or more phases of our public life.

Think Rightly.

"It is not our duty to go on record as condemning everybody and everything; but it is our privilege to think rightly on these questions and it is our task to guard our emotions in this regard, and it is our obligation to keep ourselves free from guilt in these sins. We must not neglect a single person anytime—not since Christ died for all."

Noble outlined eight points in his address on "helping our colored brothers; the challenge of a great need."

Among them were to prove sincerity as Christians, to prove that the Bible is "our golden rule and guide to faith and practice" and to recognize leadership and ability among negroes.

In amplifying his first point, Noble quoted Booker T. Washington, first president of Tuskegee Institute, who said, "it is strange that the white man cannot think of men as being brothers in Christ, without being brothers in law."

Urges Assistance.

"It stands to reason," said Noble in urging recognition of negro leadership, "that a well-trained negro can lead negroes better than a white person of equal training. Especially is this true in the denominational life of negroes."

He urged that these leaders be given assistance and co-operation by the Baptist in leading them to Christ, adding, "we have the greatest opportunity of any people in the south; but we are doing practically nothing about it."

The conference formally opened last night with its keynote "Faith Is Victory."

Leaders of the meeting said approximately 6,000 delegates from 18 states represented in the Southern Baptist Convention were expected to attend, coming from Virginia to New Mexico.

URGED TO SEEK CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS FOR NEGRO

NEW YORK, Dec. 19—The recently formed Southern Committee to Uphold the Constitution, whose chief organizers are Governor Eugene Talmadge of Georgia and John H. Kirby of Houston, Tex., were asked by the N. A. A. C. P. what steps the committee would take to protect the constitutional rights of Negro Americans.

The N. A. A. C. P. letter states that the rights of eight million Negro Americans in the South "have been ignored and flouted ever since there was a Constitution," and inquires:

"We would be interested in learning what steps the Southern Committee to Uphold the Constitution plans to take against that most notorious denial of constitutional and human rights—lynching. Since 1882, Governor Talmadge, in your State of Georgia, 563 lynchings have occurred, two of them during 1935. In Texas, Mr. Kirby, during the same period, 547 lynchings have taken place. You have not forgotten, have you Mr. Kirby, that in your own State, in Colorado county on November 12, 1935, two boys one 15 and the other 16 years of age, were lynched by a mob and O. P. Moore, the County attorney declared the lynchings to be an expression 'of the will of the people.'

The Fifth Amendment to the Constitution stipulates that 'No person shall be . . . deprived of life, liberty or property, without due process of law,' and the Sixth Amendment declares unequivocally that 'The accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial.'"

In the matter of the vote, the N. A. A. C. P. letter states:

"May we further ask what steps the Southern Committee to Uphold the Constitution, will take in the matter of the flagrant and notorious violations current in your own and other southern States in denying to qualified Negro citizens the right to vote freely? The United States Supreme court has upon various occasions, declared un-constitutional the disfranchisement of Negroes by means of grandfather clauses and by State laws prohibiting participation of Negroes in white primaries."

Race Problem—1935

United States.

Worthy Examples

Maryland, Oklahoma and Georgia have set an example of states observing the law in utter disregard of the fact that Negroes were the beneficiaries of the decisions of their courts. Will Alabama do likewise in the case of the Scottsboro boys?

In two of these three startling reverses from the habit of trying cases on the color of the appellants—in Maryland and in Oklahoma—the matters at issue were civil. But in Georgia Angelo Herndon was charged with crime. Georgia was deeply wrought up. It honestly feared Communism which this young Negro espouses. Yet challenged to pass on the constitutionality of its old insurrection law, Georgia's superior court, refusing to justify the means by the end, took the matter up strictly on its merit.

The special status imposed on Negroes in many states is slavery's inheritance. Segregation, limitation and all else that tended to keep the Negro down have been justified because by comparison they put the white man up. White domination, thus secured, became a fetish to which has been sacrificed law enforcement, commercial opportunity and even fair play. The price has been staggering, but because the end sought was deemed a holy cause, the means used have gone unquestioned.

Three decisions in a row, contrary to the South's traditional policy toward Negroes, indicate the possibility that a new era dawns. Even though a complete reformation is not at hand, we may expect more and more court decisions like these three.

In a North Carolina daily paper, a medium influential with the white public, a writer denounces the Texas official who called a double lynching in his state "an expression of the will of the people," and adds:

> The question in Texas, as it was in North Carolina, is whether the will of the people shall be motivated by respect for law or by the spirit of anarchy.
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> Better, vastly better, that two Negro criminals escape the ultimate of punishment than that a whole community shall commit murder, or bless it.

Southern white people are urged to use the law as the better way to punish crime. That the appeal is in a newspaper indicates a progress in public opinion of whites to the point where it is not repugnant to them to talk of law observance for Negroes.

The state of mind in Maryland, Oklahoma and Georgia of which their courts are an indication, and in North Carolina from which this newspaper article comes, must be also present in Alabama in some degree. If so, maybe the case of the Scottsboro boys will be tried on the law and the evidence, and an example set which will be reflected in future trials of Negroes charged with crime.

Negroes in defense of themselves when on trial for crimes involving whites have not been able to attack the veracity of witnesses, especially women witnesses. In this case of the Scottsboro boys the two women involved tell diametrically opposite stories of what happened. One of them must be perjuring herself. There will be no justice in southern courts for Negroes until custom permits their having good lawyers to defend them. The Negro lawyers have not dared to cast doubt on the probity of white witnesses and white lawyers could not be employed. The participation of a New York attorney, Leibowitz, undoubtedly was responsible for the defense's getting the previous Scottsboro cases before the U. S. supreme court for review.

Now the boys are again to be tried for their lives. Will Alabama step up to the new standard of public conduct set by three states? Will fair juries and wise judges act for the state? Will Alabama opinion produce adequate counsel to insure that justice be done? If these do come to pass, the Negro in the South will be lifted out of the dismal past and his white neighbor with him.

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Says Lynching Grows Out of Weakness and Fear

CAPACITY AUDIENCE

Speaks on National Urban League 25th Anniversary

(Special to Journal and Guide)

BALTIMORE, Md.—Addressing a Baltimore audience, Mrs. Franklin Delano Roosevelt last week promised the National Urban League her support in ending discrimination against Negroes in government agencies. She praised the league, in whose honor she was speaking, for its twenty-five years of service in the field of race relations, and sharply condemned lynching.

The President's wife made her initial platform appearance in Baltimore since becoming First Lady. She addressed a capacity crowd of several thousand white and colored citizens that filled the fifteen hundred seats of the Douglass High School auditorium, packed the mammoth gymnasium and wide corridors in overflow meeting, and brought out the notables of Baltimore and the state of Maryland, including the Eastern Shore district, in honor of the National Urban League's twenty-fifth anniversary.

The meeting was sponsored by the Baltimore Urban League, as one of the national organization's celebrations of its anniversary. Mrs. Roosevelt's address was broadcast by the National Broadcasting Company over WBAL-WJZ and the Blue Network, and thousands "listened in" in smaller meetings held by other of the forty-four affiliated organizations throughout the country.

First Lady Lauded

Mrs. Grace K. McCard, chairman of the local anniversary committee, presented the presiding officer, Joseph N. Ulman, president of the executive board of the Baltimore Urban League. Judge Ulman, in introducing Mrs. Roosevelt, described her as "the great wife of the great President of our country, who takes delight in going about seeking where she may do good."

Overwhelming applause greeted Mrs. Roosevelt as she rose and advanced to the front of the platform, striking in a simple gown of blue velvet. She spoke briefly but forcefully, and brought forth renewed enthusiasm from the audience when she said:

"I have had a number of people tell me that they felt the government in its new efforts and programs was not always fair to the Negro race. And I want to say that though this undoubtedly is so quite often, it is not the intention of those at the top, and as far as possible I hope that we may work together to eliminate any real injustice."

She declared further: "I feel strongly that in order to wipe out inequalities and injustices, we must all work together; but naturally those who suffer the injustices are most sensitive of them, and are therefore bearing the brunt of carrying through whatever plans are made to wipe out undesirable conditions....I marvel frequently at the patience with which those who work for the removal of bad conditions face their many disappointments. And I would like to pay tribute tonight to the many leaders amongst the colored people, whom I know and admire and respect.

"If they are apt at times to be discouraged and downhearted, I can only offer them as consolation, the knowledge that all of us who have worked in the past and are still working for economic and social betterment, have been through and will continue to go through many periods of dissapointment. But as we look over the years, I have come to realize that what seemed to be slow and halting advances, in the aggregate make quite a rapid march forward."

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Mrs. Roosevelt referred to lynching as "a horrible thing which grows out of weakness and fear, and not out of strength and courage; and the sooner we, as a nation, unite to stamp out any such

(Full text of her address is printed on page three).

Stresses New Program

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day and night with every social and economic aspect of this question, we have conditioned ourselves to face these realities with confidence..the problems of today fall directly in our field. They have been brought to our doorstep by the depression..the information and leadership to promote an awareness..seem logically to be ours now after a service of twenty-five years in the field of race relations..."

The program also included remarks by Governor Harry W. Nice of Maryland, Mayor Howard W. Jackson of Baltimore and Robert C.Bonnell President of the Baltimore Community Fund. Music was furnished by Master Ellis Lane Larkins, child pianist, and the Baltimore Municipal Colored Chorus of three hundred voices under the direction of W. Llewellyn Wilson.

Race Problem — 1935
United States.

The Jew in Account

"In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth by blessed" is the promise given by God to Abraham, whose fulfillment through the ages adds confidence to our belief in the inspiration of the Hebrew Scriptures. The Jew is playing a leading role in the social, economic, philanthropic and humane movements in all parts of the world. The contact of the Jew and the Negro in recent times has been mainly economical and philanthropic.

The Hebraic invasion in the management and instruction in Howard has been involved in the raging controversy which rocks the capstone of Negro education. I do not now and here, propose to enter into the political aspects of this discussion. There are three Jews on the Trustee Board and several on the professorial staff of Howard University. Of the ability and fine spirits of these Hebrew instructors, I can gladly and willingly bear personal testimony. Hon. Howard L. Ickes, Secretary of the Interior, it appears, at first suggested the dismissal of Pres. Mordecai W. Johnson, but afterwards, for some unexplained reason, changed his mind. What the Hebraic issue has to do with all this must be dissolved by keener ingenuity than mine.

The Jew, as a race, has undoubtedly superior intellectual endowment, as is evidenced by the ease with which they win the Noble prize against competition of the Gentile world which constitutes 99 per cent of their competitors. Einstein, who is conceded to be the greatest living intellect in his domain, is a lineal descendant of Abraham.

The Jew labors under many of the disabilities of the Negro. Belonging as he does to the white race, the prejudice against him, however, is of low visibility and not complicated by the question of color. He is being more and more severely limited in his opportunity to exploit his superior talent and attainment among Gentiles. American colleges and universities are becoming more active and zealous in restricting the Semitic influence on their faculties and over their students. Adolph Hitler's drastic program against the Jews in Germany was inspired, in large part, by Teutonic jealousy, as the Jewish professors, thinkers, and scholars well might monopolized the higher places in the intellectual life of the Fatherland. Jewish professors were excluded fro mfaculties in German universities and very narrowly restricted in their opportunity to practice the learned professions. As a result there was an exodus of Jewish professors, scientists and philosophers to more tolerant lands. Even Einstein was banished to America. By virtue of their superior equipment, many of them found teaching and research opportunities in other countries of a lower intellectual development.

Indeed, this is the way in which culture has been disseminated throughout the ages. When Greece was overrun by her more barbarous and less cultured neighbors her scholars found refuge in the less developed portions of Northern Europe and carried with them the lights of knowledge and learning. American universities may become greatly enriched by the influx of Jewish scholars and thinkers expelled from their native land by the wrath of Hitler. This opportunity, however, will not be fully availed of because America is tarred with the same brush of Semitic prejudice as her Teutonic cousins, albeit, it may not at present express itself in so violent a form.

Jewish students in American universities find themselves at the end of their course, befitted in somewhat the same manner as the poor Negro. They stand very little chance of being chosen on the faculty of their Alma Mater unless perchance their superior genius makes such selection imperative. There not being a sufficient constituency of their own race to furnish segregated colleges and universities, their youth must seek outlet for their talents and attainments outside of Jewery. Looking around, then, for opportunity, small wonder that Negro colleges and universities would prove attractive to them. Here lies a fresh, unplowed field. The Negro cadet in scholarship can hardly be supposed to be able to compete with them. Thus arises the issue as to how far it is wise to encourage the Jewish re-enforcement of Negro faculties at the expense of ambitious Negro cadets who are absolutely confined to this field. Here as elsewhere, wise statesmanship and practical wisdom must be the guide. But, speaking broadly, the Jew with his superior inheritance and endowment, can be of incalculable advantage to the Negro along many lines of intellectual endeavor and higher strivings. A fellow-feeling makes us wondrous kind. Subject to somewhat similar proscriptions as ourselves, they may enter into sympathetic understanding with our problems and difficulties. It was a sad day for the Ku Klux Klan, annd a glad one for the Negro when they bracketed him and the Jew under the same ban of proscription. It was the Jew and not the Negro, that put the Ku Klux Klan out of commission. This but illustrates how these prescribed groups in American life may be mutually helpful with the Jew leading the way.

The invasion of the Somitic element in Howard University is deeply significant and suggestive. Julis Rosenwald, a Jew, was the greatest benefactor of the Negro race. Strange to say, his benefactions fell primarily in the field of education and religious endeavor. Think of the Hebrew who dies not accept the Savior-ship of Jesus, endowing young men's Christian associations for neglected Negro manhood. At Howard University we have had the anomoly of a Jewish president of the board of Trustees presiding over the destiny of a Protestant Theologicalseminary. But these are more excresent inconsistencies that always will appear where radical adjustments are taking place.

In an early release I will discuss the Jew and the Negro in the business world.

KELLY MILLER

DEAN MILL TALKS OF THE JEW IN ACCOUNT WITH NEGRO GROUP

(By DEAN KELLY MILLER)

"In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed" is the promise given by God to Abraham, whose fulfillment through the ages adds confidence to our belief in the inspiration of the Hebrew Scriptures. The Jew is playing a leading role in the social, economic, philanthropic and humane movements in all parts of the world. The contact of the Jew and the Negro in recent times has been mainly economical and philanthropic.

The Hebraic invasion in the management and instruction of Howard has been involved in the raging controversy which rocks the capstone of Negro education. I do not now and here propose to enter into the political aspects of this discussion. There are three Jews on the Trustee Board and several on the professorial staff of Howard University. Of the ability and fine spirits of these Hebrew instructors, I can gladly and willingly bear personal testimony. Hon. Harold L. Ickes, Secretary of the Interior, it appears, at first suggested the dismissal of Pres. Mordecai W. Johnson, but afterwards, for some unexplained reason, changed his mind. What the Hebraic issue has to do with all of this must be dissolved by keener ingenuity than mine.

The Jew, as a race, has undoubtedly superior intellectual endowment, as is evidenced by the ease with which they win the Noble prize against competition of the Gentile world whch constitutes 99 per cent of their competitors. Einstein, who is conceded to be the greatest living intellect in his domain, is a lineal descendent of Abraham.

The Jew labors under many of the disabilities of the Negro. Belonging as he does to the white race, the prejudice against him, however, is of low visibilty and not complicated by the question of color. He is being more and more severely limited in his opportunity to exploit his superior talent and attainment among Gentiles. American colleges and universities are becoming more active and zealous in restricting the Semetic influence on their faculties and over their students. Adolph Hitler's drastic program against the Jews in Germany was inspired, in large part, by Teutonic jealousy, as the Jewish professors, thinkers, and scholars well nigh monopolized the higher places in the intellectual life of the Fatherland. Jewish professors were excluded from faculties in German universities and very narrowly restricted in their opportunity to practice the learned professions. As a result there was an exodus of Jewish professors, scientists and philosophers to more tolerant lands. Even Einstein was banished to America. By virtue of their superior equipment, many of them found teaching and research opportunities in other countries of a lower intellectual development.

Indeed, this is the way in which culture has been disseminated throughout the ages. When Greece was overrun by her more barbarous and less cultured neighbors her scholars found refuge in the less developed portions of Northern Europe and carried with them the lights of knowledge and learning. American universities may become greatly enriched by the influx of Jewish scholars and thinkers expelled from their native land by the wrath of Hitler. This opportunity, however, will not be fully availed of because America is tarred with the same brush of Semetic prejudice as her Teutonic cousins, albeit, it may not at

present express itself in so violent a form.

Jewish students in American universities find themselves at the end of their course, befitted in somewhat the same manner as the poor Negro. They stand very little chance of being chosen on the faculty of their Alma Mater unless perchance their superior genius makes such selection imperative. There not being a sufficient constituency of their own race to furnish segregated colleges and universities, their youth must seek outlet for their talents outside of Jewery. Looking around, then, for opportunity, small wonder that Negro colleges and universities would prove attractive to them. Here lies a fresh, unplowed field. The Negro cadet in scholarship can hardly be supposed to be able to compete with them. Thus arises the issue as to how far it is wise to encourage the Jewish reenforcement of Negro faculties at the expense of ambition Negro cadets who are absolutely limited to this field. Here, as elsewhere, wise statesmanship and practical wisdom must be the guide. But, speaking broadly, the Jew with his superior inheritance and endowment, can be of incalculable advantage to the Negro along many lines of intellectual endeavor and higher strivings. A fellow-feeling makes us wondrous kind. Subject to somewhat similar prescriptions as ourselves, they may enter into sympathetic understanding with our problems and difficulties. It was a sad day for the Ku Klux Klan, and a glad one for the Negro when they bracketed him and the Jew under the same ban of proscription. It was the Jew and not the Negro, that put the Ku Klux Klan out of commission. This but illustrates how these proscribed groups in American life may be mutually helpful with the Jew leading the way.

The invasion of the Semetic element in Howard University is deeply significant and suggestive. Julius Rosenwald, a Jew, was the greatest benefactor of the Negro race. Strange to say, his benefactions fell primarily in the field of education and religious endeavor. Think of the Hebrew who does not accept the Savior-ship of Jesus, endowing young men's Christian associations for neglected Negro manhood. At Howard University we have the anomoly of a Jewish President of the Board of Trustees presiding over the destiny of a Protestant Theological Seminary. But these are mere excrescent inconsistencies that will always appear where radical adjustments are taking place.

In an early release I will discuss the Jew and the Negro in the business world.

Charleston, S. C. News & Courier
June 30, 1935

The United State?

There is no reason for excitement about the "race question" in South Carolina. "White supremacy" would not be in danger in South Carolina even were the negroes voting, for since 1930 the whites have been a considerable majority in the population.

The president apparently is not pressing for a constitutional amendment. It is likely that news from the South has caused him to drop it for the present. Mr. James Farley probably has been chatting quietly with Southern senators and representatives. At the moment is no cause for alarm.

The Roosevelt revolution cannot succeed without complete destruction of the right of states to manage their internal affairs. That is too plain to be questioned. His silence in regard to the Costigan-Wagner bill is clear indication that he has little sympathy with the Southern feeling about questions of that kind. Never would there have been doubt about Woodrow Wilson's or Grover Cleveland's opinion upon them. Some of the noblest men and women in the world differ radically from us Southerners about the negro question.

The Northern Democratic party already has been revolutionized. It is now controlled by progressives, so-called, such high-minded folk as Mr. Ickes, Miss Perkins, Dr. Tugwell (contributing editor to The New Republic). It has no kinship to the party of Tilden and little more with the party of Bryan. Bryan was a free trader.

To change the form of government of the United States, to convert the forty-eight states into the United State, may be wise and right. The News and Courier does not think so, but it is classified as a Tory, a reactionary. The one thing of which The News and Courier is sure is that the effort is going on to obliterate the states. While the president does not admit it in plain words he constantly asserts it by acts as well as expressions. Some of his advisers speak bluntly about it, which is to their credit.

If the South Carolinians want this change, if they favor the revolution, they should say so. It is their right of course to favor it, and they may have a better "vision" than The News and Courier has. But they should know what they are doing and acknowledge it.

It is their privilege to repudiate Calhoun, Hampton, Tillman. If the revolution succeed and the United State come into being, South Carolina will be governed from Washington. If Mr. Roosevelt's centralization policies succeed, they will outlast him. He might be reelected in 1936 and succeeded by a Republican or Republican progressive in 1940, but his policies would live on. Once we shall have the United State it will stay.

It is nonsense to say that we in South Carolina could do as we choose about the negro question or any other question in a United State. We would be governed by officers named in Washington, by Congressmen.

It is not impossible that next year the federal government will elect the majority in the geenral assembly. It would like to have legislators who would enact "social security" and other bills written in Washington, and in every county are scores of men and women in its pay. They have immense political influence.

In one county, Richland, are literally thousands of men and women in the federal government's pay.

Again we say that the revolution may be desirable, but it should be called by its right name.

Race Problem—1935

United States.

NOT "TRADITION" ONLY

Two distinguished Southern newspaper editors recently exchanged interesting opinions in answer to the implied question, "What's wrong with our South?"

George Morris, editor of The Memphis Commercial Appeal, thinks that the trouble with the South is that it is weighted down wtih the bondage of tradition.

"It is a section," he writes, "with scores of churches, representing as many denominations, in each community; architecturally monstrous, but expensive, school buildings; and a tenant agricultural system almost exactly as it was the day it succeeded the slave system.

"It is not more religious as a consequence of many churches; the quality of education has not improved in keeping with the growth of bond issue for public school buildings, and teachers, while vastly improved, are still poorly paid, and the economic situation remains unchanged actually as well as in appearance."

Robert Lathan, editor of The Asheville Citizen, does not agree with George Morris. His own theory is outlined as follows, as contained in a recent editorial in The Citizen:

Whether, as Mr. Morris suggests, the saying of such things is libel, if he who says them is an outsider, or treason, if they are said by a Southerner, there is some truth in the indictment. We do not agree with Mr. Morris, however, that tradition is the villain of the piece.

The trouble in the South, it seems to us, has been that on the whole the earning power of this region, in proportion to population, has been far below that of other parts of the nation. There have been periods when agriculture in the South really flourished and in those periods wealth accumulated and centers which reflected those features of civilization which spring from wealth were established. But agriculture in the South has flourished but briefly in the past three quarters of a century. Except in 1917, 1918, and 1919 the farmers, who are the bulk of the Southern population, have generally just about made a living and that was all.

The root of the matter, as every student who goes into the problem of Southern backwardness is compelled to see, is that prosperity in the South depends, and has always depended, on the ability to sell freely in the markets of the world. Every Southern leader used to understand that and the fight was waged in season and out of season to keep those markets open. How many Southern leaders are ready to make such a fight now? Few have done so. How many Southerners would follow them if they did make the fight? It is impossible, apparently, to interest the tobacco growers of North Carolina in preserving and extending their overseas trade, the trade which ultimately will determine their fate.

We read what Mr. Morris had to say yesterday and then in The Columbia State we read of the collection by the State of South Carolina of $312,120 inheritance tax on the estate of a South Carolinian who died several years ago. This tax, the Columbia newspaper said, "was nearly three times larger than that ever paid on inheritances in South Carolina" before. Doesn't that tell the story?

Conditions are improving throughout the South at the present time. Every Southern newspaper we pick up says so. The Atlanta Constitution of Wednesday had a two-line streamer over its first page which said that "mounting bank deposits reveal business increase of rapidly widening scope in Atlanta and Georgia." The Richmond Times-Dispatch is running a series of articles setting forth the return of prosperity to the Old Dominion State. In South Carolina, we are told, census data just released shows "a measure of agricultural recovery during the last five years which the director in Washington designates as not less than 'phenomenal.' So it goes everywhere. And yet the total money return from cotton, the South's chief money crop, is in this greatly improved year probably not much more than half what it was ten years ago.

We shall not rub out in the South what many Southerners as well as many outsiders regard as blotches until the earning power of this region can be raised to a point where it will be comparable with the earning power of the nation and of those parts of the nation in which wealth has accumulated so vastly while the South as a whole was struggling along on a hand-to-mouth basis.

Our problems, we believe, are economic and social, rather than psychological. It is not "tradition" so much as uncertain markets and a vast area of poor land. Much of this land was made poor by our own neglect and wastefulness, but much of it is naturally poor.

The tenant system has been harmful to the soil as well as to the people, but we have had the tenant system because we have not known how to provide a substitute for it.

The tenant system was not conceived in sin and born in iniquity. It was adopted because there was nothing else to put in its place; it has survived for the same reason. The system is vicious, but the people—landlords and tenants—involed in it are not vicious. They are merely helpless.

The tenant system, however, is at last probably on its way out. It will not be, it cannot be, supplanted by another system overnight, but many of our most conservative and intelligent thinkers believe that at last it is possible to do something about tenantry. Only a Federal corporation would be equal to the task—it is quite beyond the reach of private enterprise—but such a Federal corporation under the leadership of Senator Bankhead of Alabama, is likely to be created.

Here is another factor in the life of Southerners which while a few have observed, usually is overlooked: Thousands of our people of the poorer classes have suffered in the past from the weakening processes of malnutrition. Their food habits have been vicious. Not only has much of their strength been lost because of improper diet, but such active degenerative diseases as pellagra have preyed upon large numbers of our people. Until the Rockefeller Foundation and our own modernized public health services removed hookworm disease, thousands of our people suffered from it. Thousands more have suffered from malaria.

We do not pretend to know what health statistics would disclose regarding malnutrition, but it is known that hookworm disease has been subdued and that malaria is under control. Presumably nutritional disorders have increased rather than diminished in the last six years, despite the educational pressure for the growth and use of a greater variety of sound foods.

This much would seem to be certain: The Southern people, contrary to the opinion of Northerners, all of whom are perfect, as everyone knows, are not naturally "lazy." This is a fallacious, absurd notion and has always been.

Generally speaking working hours are longer in the South than they are in any other section of America. Our farm workers toil from sun to sun. Our industrial laborers observe whatever hours may be prescribed, and in many instances the industrial working hours in the South are long.

There are around 100 people on the payroll of The Advertiser. If there is an indolent, malingering person on that payroll this editor does not know it. We know of no other group of workers from top to bottom who seem more energetic.

The lawyers and doctors of Montgomery, heart of the Deep South, drive as hard and work as long hours, as any lawyers and doctors in the land—indeed they probaly work longer hours. Desk workers and clerks throughout the city labor briskly and without fatigue. Housekeepers stir around bright and early and stay by their tasks until the last baby is spanked to sleep and Wayne King is summoned to do his stuff.

Anybody who tells us that the Southern people are naturally unfriendly to work and seek to avoid it puts a taste of quinine in our mouth and the spirit of John R. Satan in our heart. If there is any one thing we know about the South it is that this is a land of hard workers. A Negro chauffeur drove this writer to Tuskegee recently and for much of the way entertained us with the tale of how in Lowndes county he used to plow his crop on moonlit nights till 12 o'clock. He wasn't lying, either. Fortunately, however, he had enjoyed good health and knew something about food. He wasn't averse to eating green vegetables and eggs and drinking milk. He works 10 hours a day now and loves it, because he feels well.

Whenever someone tells us that representatives of "old" Southern families are unwilling to work, we immediately ache in several places, and want to know which Southerners? We want to know also which Northerners, which Europeans, which Africans and which Asiatics of the "old" families are industrial madcaps, otherwise ferocious workers?

Our notion—prejudiced, of course—is that there are lazy, unenterprising, no-account people in every stratum of society in every division of every continent, but that so far as the South is concerned nearly everybody we know wants to find a way to do better than he has been doing, that he has as much native ambition and energy as his contemporaries in other regions. His economic expectation is lower, and of course in the hot season he has got to use some sense and

move discreetly to cope with the glad, broad rays of Old Sol, but that nevertheless the man does not live who at heart is willing to work harder and longer hours than he.

A great deal is wrong with the South, and The Advertiser is among those that like to play upon the South's shortcomings, but some of the things that are wrong with our people are not their fault.

We are too prejudiced, we are too sensitive to criticism—but we have rarely controlled the tariff politics of the Federal trolled the tariff policies of the Federal government, which milked us and battened our Northern critics; we did not make much of our soil thin and poor, we merely wasted and mismanaged some of it, we did not fall into bad eating habits willingly—we ate what we had, and suffered accordingly; we did not import hook worms, now conquered, we merely suffered at their hands; we did not make the mosquito that gave us malaria, we killed him when we found out how to do it.

We did not choose poverty and desolation—we had to take them when they came.

Now, enough of our land is fertile, and most of it that has been wasted is capable of being restored; it will be restored; so that at last we are capable of producing what we need to consume and sell—if only a good market can be found for our surplus. We know how to cope with debilitating diseases, and we are willing to work.

We think we know—and we alone conceived the idea—how to cope with the tenant problem, and we believe that in the end we will show the world a thing or two in that connection.

Meantime, why is it that New England, industrially, commercially and agriculturally, is sinking into a state of despair? And why is it that only in the great, fertile west there are riots by farmers and threats to lynch collectors of mortgages? The South, unfortunately, lynches Negroes—but it does not lynch bill collectors.

NEGRO LEADERSHIP

Dr. Gordon B. Hancock, eminent columnist of the Norfolk Journal and Guide has some mighty fine words of wisdom in a recent issue of that great paper. We shall not spoil the article by commenting upon it. We merely reproduce it in full with thanks to him and to the publishers of the Journal and Guide of Norfolk, Va.

"IN REBUTTAL: THE A. M. E. CHURCH

By Gordon B. Hancock

The attack on Negro leadership has become a racket! It has become the specialty of chronic failures and would-be-greats and "strivers" of divers persuasions. It is true that Negro leadership, like national leadership, can profit by constructive criticisms; but it is equally true that those Negroes who are in position to offer these constructive criticisms are too busy bringing things to pass to join in the raucous cry that is adding to the confusion of the hour.

Men and women who are doing things have not the time to indulge in the "all-Negro pasttime" of miscellaneous criticism of Negro leadership. Negro leadership is not a total loss and there are thousands and thousands of examples of the worthiest kind of Negro leaders who are too proud to plead in their own defense, and so they let the "outs" have their say against the "ins."

This pet diversion, which has recently become a racket of such threatening dimensions, demands attention if the Negro race is to advance against the dreadful odds in the offing. With the destruction of confidence in Negro leadership goes the blasting of a race's hopes.

In my boyhood I lived with a great-uncle on a farm in South Carolina and in the fall we would gather the corn and on winter evenings we would have husking bees, when the corn would be husked and assorted. On on pile we would throw the sound healthy ears of corn and then we had a box for the small corn which we called "nubbins". The nubbins were stunted, immature ears that could never be used for seed, but for hog feed.

If we would take the Negro race today and assort it after the manner of assorting the corn, we would have full ears and "nubbins." If we would closely inspect the assortment we would find that the major part of the racket against Negro leadership would come from the "nubbins." The "nubbin-minded" Negroes with a penchant for criticism may easily prove to be a mill-stone to sink the race upon the sea of abject despair. Negroes like all groups must be led and woe unto us if we have lost faith in all Negro leadership. If the present racket against Negro leadership keeps up it can but result in the dangerous weakening of faith in all Negroes and Negro enterprises. Only fools or knaves expect Negro leaders to be perfect.

It is doubtful if there is any group in history which has been more successfully led than the A. M. E. Church against such dreadful odds. When Richard Allen led the Negroes out to do or die for themselves he was making footprints on the sands of time that the ways of the passing centuries cannot efface. While certain Negroes of various denominational persuasion were waiting for the philanthropies of sympathetic whites of the North Richard Allen arose to the proportion of a trail blazer and led African Methodism to a realization of the possibilities of self help. After all, the African Methodists must have a pride of achievement that is foreign to Negroes of other persuasions.

It is true we have great universities founded and endowed by philanthropic whites and doing a marvelous work among the Negroes of the nation. But the colleges founded and supported by the African Methodist Church even though their rating may not be the highest in all cases, they nevertheless are the greater credit to the race. A class "A" spirit is more important than a class "A" college. The A. M. E. Church has a class "A" spirit.

When I consider Allen University and Morris Brown College and other schools of this branch of Methodism and what they are doing and what they stand for, there steals into my soul a profound reverence for the leadership under which so much has been accomplished. The vast sums of money spent by white philanthropists was designed to get the Negro to do what African Methodists have done since the days of Richard Allen.

The Bishopric of the A. M. E. Church is one of the most vital forces in this nation and that it has perpetuated the principles of Methodism and inculcated into its constituency the spirit of self help and self determination is easily one of the wonders of the modern world. The spirit of African Methodism must be brought into all the affairs of the Negro race, in education and civic adventure. There is no greater exemplification of the possibility of the Double-Duty Dollar than the things that African Methodiism has done down through the **years.**

If there is any Negro group in this nation that should be proud of its heritage it should be the Negroes of the African Methodist persuasion. Their is a pardonable pride and though Baptist I be, I am profoundly grateful to the great denomination for a leadership that is our only hope of salvation. The most bristling example of racial self help has been produced by the A. M. E. Church. It is a monument to greater leadership. Negro leadership is not totally defunct as our moral racketeers would have us believe. In rebutal: The great A. M. E. Church."

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Race Problem - 1935.
United States.

Virginia Beach, Va., News
September 20, 1935

As Others See It

NEGROES AT THE WHITE HOUSE; SOCIAL EQUALITY ESTABLISHED AT THE CAPITAL OF THE NATION

(Copied from The Chronicle, published at Rosslyn, Virginia.)

When Theodore Roosevelt was President, Booker Washington called at the White House and found the President finishing his lunch. He was asked if he had eaten lunch and said he had, according to a statement issued at the time by the White House. He denied that he had eaten lunch with President Theodore Roosevelt. But democratic statesmen and democratic newspapers all over the South proclaimed that Theodore Roosevelt had eaten lunch with a "Nigger." It is now a matter of common knowledge in Washington that negro men and their wives attend receptions at the White House and mingle with the white guests and eat at buffet luncheons with the white men and their wives at the White House receptions.

On January 3, 1935, the Kansas City American, a negro newspaper published the following from Washington:

"In keeping with her statement made several months ago, that race, color, or creed would never enter into her scheme of social affairs," etc.

Then follows a statement that Mrs. Roosevelt entertained at tea a negro woman named Coralie Franklin Cook. The writer asked over the phone if it were true that she had tea with Mrs. Roosevelt, and she answered: "Yes, why not?" She was told by the writer that the colored newspaper had mentioned her as a negro and she replied that she was a colored American and she was born of colored American parents in Lexington, Virginia, and that she was only one of many colored American women who had been entertained and had tea with Mrs. Roosevelt. She said that Mrs. Roosevelt made no social distinctions because of race or color and was a cosmopolitan woman. She said that Mrs. Roosevelt had entertained at luncheon the former negro Congressman DePriest and his wife of Chicago.

At a White House reception to the Judiciary, negroes and whites were mingled together and ate at the buffet luncheon on terms of social equality, with the President and Mrs. Roosevelt, many of the negroes having their wives with them.

A negro, G. David Houston, former classmate of President Roosevelt, ate lunch with him at the White House. When Houston arrived at the White House he was received with ceremony by the white attendants, and after he got out of his automobile his photograph was taken and it appeared in the colored newspapers. He spent a long time at the table eating with the President, perfectly at home.

On Sunday, April 14, 1935, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt appeared at a mass meeting of more than 2,500 negroes at the Metropolitan African Methodist Church in Washington. She is shown in pictures surrounded by negro women, one of whom, Mrs. Robert McGuire introduced her.

The First Lady spoke in behalf of a membership campaign of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, an organization controlled by socialists and communists, and which has been generously supported by communist funds. The official report of the Communist Party, 4th National Convention states that the party had penetrated the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Its supporters are largely listed as socialists and communists in the "Red Network," a book by Elizabeth Dilling listing the dangerous organizations controlled by radical socialists and communists. At the meeting Mrs. Roosevelt was paid a tribute by a negro, Walter A. White, who came to Washington from New York. He dwelt upon her work in behalf of the Wagner-Costigan Anti-Lynching Bill pending in congress which is opposed by every southern Senator and member as a violation of states rights. He is an Atlanta negro with an office in New York, and is Secretary of the National Colored People, and is on the National Committee of the National Religion and Labor Foundation, listed in the "Red Network" as an organization of socialists and communists in 1932.

The organization issued an atheist cartoon of Jesus Christ ridiculing Christianity and calling upon the masses to throw off capitalism, and Jesus Christ.

In her speech Mrs. Roosevelt used the word "equality" twelve times and "equal" six times, and told the 2,500 negroes that she was for the Wagner-Costigan Anti-Lynching Bill. She concluded by telling the negroes to work for equality of recognition and to use their franchise to obtain what they wish and to make sure that they knew the persons for whom to vote. The Afro-American newspaper published in Washington says that she got 600 new members for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

It was published here and is much talked about that she had a negro women at the White House for two days and nights in one of the guest chambers, and that a statement issued from the White House said that the woman had taken sick and was detained at the White House for that reason. Negroes do not say that, and as the Emergency Hospital is but a block away, and there are plenty of automobiles to take a woman to her home, the White House explanation is not impressive.

It is a cardinal principle of practical socialists that all social distinctions of race and color must be abolished. Mrs. Roosevelt is described in the "Red Network" as follows:

"Socialist sympathizer and associate. Pacifist. Non Intervention Citizen Committee (dominated and controlled by socialists and communists.) 1927. Opposed to the Monroe Doctrine which the Administration has abrogated. 36 of the 75 members of the Intervention Citizens Committee, leading socialists or communists. Active member of National Consumers League, a socialist controlled organization aided by the Garland (communist fund.) Co-worker with many radicals, some of whom have been appointed to government positions by her husband. Donated radio fees to radical American Friends Service Committee. Donated her services broadcasting over Socialists Debs Memorial Radio Station, etc."

All above organizations admit negroes on social and racial equality with the whites. Many other activities of Mrs. Roosevelt are mentioned in the "Red Network." Up to this time she has made no denial or attempted to correct any reference to her in that book.

A recent picture of Mrs. Roosevelt in the Washington newspapers show her sitting beside a negro woman at negro welfare gathering so near together that their bodies touched.

Negroes and Whites In Departments

Numerous negroes of prominence have been appointed to high salaried key positions in Washington.

Dr. William J. Thompkins has been appointed Recorder of Deeds of the District of Columbia. He is from Kansas City and owner of the Kansas City American, leading negro newspaper. He has white deputies and both white and colored clerks. His salary is $6,000 a year.

Robert Lee Vann, owner of a negro newspaper, the Pittsburgh Courier, in Pittsburgh, Pa., has been appointed to the position as Special Assistant to the Attorney General of the United States at a high salary. He is provided with two white stenographers. There are 40 white women stenographers in the division in which he works. He can use any of them if needed. A story is told of a stenographer, a young lady, refusing to take dictation from a negro. She was transferred to another division. To have dismissed her would have made too good a story for the newspapers.

William H. Hastie has been appointed Assistant Solicitor for Department of Interior, salary $5,500 per annum. He is a negro politician and lawyer. Louis H. Mehlinger of Mississippi, a negro, has been appointed Special Assistant Attorney General of the United States, salary $4,500. What senator from Mississippi got him the job?

James Pryor, a negro, is confidential secretary to President Roosevelt. Robert H. Weaver, a negro politician, has been appointed Special Assistant to Secretary Ickes, salary, $6,000, per annum. Lawrence Oxley of North Carolina has been appointed a special assistant at a high salary in the Labor Department.

Eugene Kingle Jones, a New York negro politician has been appointed a Special Assistant to Secretary Daniel Calhoun Roper, Secretary of Commerce at a salary of $7,500 per annum. This is a negro League of which Mrs. Roosevelt is a Director. It has headquarters in New York and the wife of our President puts herself on the plane of equality with this and other negroes in the League. The negro office holders above named are provided with white stenographers.

Women Denounce Mrs. Roosevelt

A group of cultured women in Atlanta, Georgia, have organized "The Woman's Association for the Preservation of the White Race." They publish the "Georgia Women's World." The following editorial "The Woman in the White House," we publish in full. The Woman's National Association for the Preservation of the White

Race should be organized in every city and county in America.

"The Woman In The White House"

"By Mrs. J. E. Andrews

"(From Georgia Woman's World Atlanta, Georgia, July 19, 1935).

"We've had many 'First Ladies' of the Nation, by comparison, never such a one as we have at present; and in our opinion, not one who has ever graced the White House during all the past years suffers any by comparison with the woman who is supposed to preside at the present time in the White House of the Nation.

"Surely no other roamed the country at will as this one, turning up any hour of the day or night with some unknown woman, or rather one that the country has little knowledge of, and at the most unexpected and unheard places. Surely the white women of the nation, at least those of the South have not shared the cordial comradeship which is so freely bestowed to and among the Negroes of the nation. Walter White (Negro socialist) and other Negro boys who ran the streets at Atlanta a quarter of a century ago seem to find special favor in the eyes of Madam Roosevelt, and seem to have little or no trouble in reaching her august presence at any time, and in being able to win her consideration and support for their pet measures, such as the Anti-Lynching Bill and things of that nature designed to put the women of the white race at a more hopeless disadvantage than they have yet had to endure during the past seventy years.

"Mrs. Roosevelt is responsible for the election of Caroline O'Day as Congresswoman of New York, and also for the appointment of Madam Perkins to the Cabinet as Secretary of Labor, both of whom have shown their strong and decided preference for Walter White and others of his race. We can quite understand a reasonable and even equal consideration for Walter, but it is hard to understand why women of what must be the same race as Mrs. Roosevelt are utterly ignored. It is not because women some of them even here in the South would not fawn upon her and accept the very crumbs from her table they do not receive attention. It is not quite popular nor the political thing to do at the present tme to respect or show any consideration for white women.

"The tables have taken a sudden and decided turn, and with the present administration, that is with the woman part of it, with the exception of the cultured and splendid mother of the President, the white women of the nation are placed at a decided disadvantage with negro men.

"Negro newspapers are full of Mrs. Roosevelt's pictures and notices of her addresses to their meetings coupled with such statements as "She waited to hear the address of Hon. Walter White'—the same little Negro who, like thousands of others, ran the streets of Atlanta a very short time ago.

"Mrs. Roosevelt recently spoke under the auspices of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People—an organization which Communist leaders claim to have recently invaded. In reporting her speech a Negro newspaper prints her picture and says: 'First Lady Helps Get 600 New Members.' On the same page there appears another picture of a black man flirting with a white girl, accompanied with this announcement: 'Russian students leaving summer school at the University of Moscow . . . American students are getting special invitations from Russia.' The obvious inference is that Negro men who desire the affection of white women will do well to visit Moscow during the present summer.

"About the only attention that Mrs. Roosevelt has given to white girls and women, that we can see, was in one of her first radio speeches after her husband was elected President, when she made it her business, along with other things she was not elected to do, to teach girls how to drink liquor. She said: "The average girl of today faces the problem of learning very young how much she can drink of such things as whiskey and gin and sticking to the proper quantity . . . Unless the parents have been wise and trained her young to judge for herself and decide between right and wrong, she is apt to have some bitter experiences.' Two of Mrs. Roosevelt's children have been divorced and re-married since she entered the White House. She is America's First Lady to be a cigarette smoker. Democratic Party, or no party, the mothers of this nation should rise en masse to do some White House cleaning. One more divorce, more or less, would not matter much with the disgusting and sickening corruption that entered the White House with Eleanor Roosevelt and her children.

"The white women of the nation are in sympathy with the rights of colored citizens, but they see no reason why white women who have been elevated to exalted positions should entirely ignore the reasonable and inalienable rights of the white race."

Vets Urged to War on "Uncle Tom" Writers

Legion Post Told That Characters in Plays, Books Are Spineless.

LANGSTON HUGHES PLAY IS RAPPED

Colored Following in Footsteps of Whites.

WASHINGTON.—Members of the James Reece Europe American Legion Post were urged by Mrs Isadore William Myles, Armstrong High School teacher of English and literature, to lend their support in protesting to both white and colored contemporary novelists against the picturing of colored characters in fiction as "Uncle Toms" and "vulgar idiots," who have no class consciousness soul, or ambition.

Mrs. Myles was invited to address the post as the result of an article which she wrote in the last number of the Journal of the College Alumnae Association called "Character or Caricature," in which she accused the writers of novels published during the past year of depicting only a stereotyped "soulless" individual in the colored characters drawn.

Loose and Vulgar

It is not the fact that the persons pictured are illiterate or of the lowest economic stratum of society to which the race should object, Mrs. Myles said, but they are always shown to be loose, vulgar, dishonest, faithless, and thoughtless, "the type of person that a white man wants us to be," she said.

Condemning colored writers for aping their white contemporaries in the picturization of the colored characters, the speaker said: "It seems like a prostitution of art for them to picture these characters only as the white man wants them pictured in order to sell their books."

Raps Hughes Play

Mrs. Myles condemned Langston Hughes's play recently opened on Broadway for being the same old thing of loose women and unthinking men. She condemned Zora Neal Hurston's latest novel "Mules and Men" for the same reason.

She urged her audience to be ware of favorable criticisms in the white press concerning the dramas and novels depicting colored characters. This press will praise these works, she said, only when they meet with their approved opinion of what the colored man should be.

She reminded the group that novels of Russian peasantry and peasantry of other lands gave to their present characters, though poor and illiterate, some stamina, class consciousness, spirit of unity and ambition. It is only the colored American who is willing to portray his race without these qualities, she contended.

She read to the group passages from Robert Rylee's (white) recent novel, "Deep Dark River," demonstrating to them the white man's idea of the highest colored type. Mose, the hero, she read passages to show, was without a noble trait.

To Send Protest

A resolution was passed by the legionnaires present to write letters to Rober Rylee, white, author of "Deep Dark River," and other writers who depict their colored characters in the shallow, soul-less, vulgar manner described by Mrs. Miles. It was suggested that all American Legion posts, both white and colored, be requested to write such letters.

Various members expressed agreement with the speaker and felt that some concerted action should be taken by the colored race to show their protests against the stereotype picture of their group painted by the writers of the day.

Clifton Anderson, commander of the post, told of his trip to the inauguration of Dr. Frederick Patterson, president of Tuskegee, which opened his eyes more than ever, he said, to the exploitation of poor colored persons in the South, both by white people and their own race.

Race Problem - 1935
United States.

Booneville, Miss. Independent
September 6, 1935

HUEY'S NEGRO CLUBS

It was a matter of great surprise to the people of this state when it was revealed a few days ago that the Huey Long clubs in Mississippi, which he calls the Share-The-Wealth Clubs, are composed of a large per cent of negroes. These negroes, of course, have no wealth to share with anybody else. It would be interesting indeed to know just how he intends to use these organized negroes and what he hopes to accomplish by having them in clubs. Whether he intends to use them in connection with the republican party, whether he intends to incite them to political ambitions, whether he intends to collect monthly club fees from them for his own use or just what he intends to do with these clubs would make very interesting reading matter for the public, if the real truth could be revealed. This share the wealth movement is necessarily political. The only way he hopes to accomplish anything along this line is by having congress act. Of course he does not hope to ever accomplish any results in the movement, but his argument and his talk is purely political. Then if he uses these negro clubs to any advantage they must be used in some political connection.

There is no law so far as we know against negroes organizing clubs. But we have never known any good to come from negro clubs organized by white leaders. The negroes are not to blame. They have been misled and misguided by some slick-tongue white man with a selfish purpose to subserve. It would be easy enough to tell the negroes that if they join these clubs and obey the voice of the Kingfish that they would share in the distribution of all the accumulated millions of the ultra rich. They are easily led and easily misled and often may be used for a bad purpose by white leaders without realizing what it is all about. So far as we know the negroes in this state have behaved first rate but they are getting on dangerous ground when they allow self-seeking white men to herd them into clubs which they know nothing about. In the main the white and the colored people get along mighty well together in this state and there should be nothing done to disturb the pleasant relations.

At the Hugh White rally in Jackson last week Sen. Bilbo is quoted as having made the following statement:

> Every negro north of the Mason and Dixon line is now organized. All over our state they are organizing. Out of the 602 Share the Wealth clubs in Mississippi, more than one-half of them are negroes.
>
> I am calling on you red-blooded men of the state to join hands with me now to break up these negro organizations. When a white man goes out to organize the negro for political purposes, it means trouble.
>
> If we permit the continuance of the organization of negroes in Mississippi, as they are doing in Louisiana, in a little while a few desperate politicians would see that these negroes voted. There are more negroes in Mississippi than whites, and it would not be long before you saw negroes having a majority of the vote and elevating negroes and worthless white trash to your city, county, and state government seats.

Now we presume the senator knows what he is talking about. If he does then there is a dangerous situation in the South from the organization of these clubs. In this state 50.2 per cent of our population is colored.

The Daily News of Jackson had the following editorial in a recent issue of that paper:

> A serious duty confronts the Democracy of Mississippi.
>
> Negro Share the Wealth clubs must be disbanded. Peacefully, if possible, by compulsion if necessary.
>
> These organizations, formed at the behest of Huey Long, have one sinister purpose, and that is to bring the negro back into politics in Mississippi.
>
> That cannot and will not be tolerated.
>
> Negro leaders in the various communities where these clubs exist owe it to their race to see to it that charters are surrendered and memberships cancelled.

There are white Share the Wealth clubs, of course, but the leaders of those bodies, it is to be hoped, will see their error and abandon what, in its final analysis is only the foolish dream of a fanatic demagogue.

Tuesday's primary is not the beginning. Every semblance of Huey Long influence in Mississippi must be stamped out. The issue is still what it was when the poltical dictator launched his efforts to secure political control in this commonwealth.

It is to be hoped that when these negroes see that they have been duped and misled that they will voluntarily abandon these clubs and get out from under the influence of a man who would use them for his own advantage in any way that he could do so. One of the most common-sense statements we have seen on this subject was carried in a news item in the Jackson Daily News last week, quoting Dr. Redmond of Jackson, a leader of his race, in the following statement:

"Any proposal for sharing the wealth is silly, and I am sorry that doctrine has been so widely spread among the members of my race,"

"The average negro is not a Communist in thought or purpose. He only asks a fair chance to earn an honest living.

"If any person, white or black, wants to fairly share any part of another man's wealth, he must honestly earn it. The Ten Commandments are just as true today as they were when God handed them down to Moses."

Dr. Redman is a well to do negro, doctor and lawyer, and he has sense enough to see the folly of the share the wealth idea. If more leaders of the negro race would give their own people this sort of wholesome advice it would be more difficult for white hirelings to lead them into dangerous clubs and pitfalls. Let us hope that there shall be no violence in the movement to dismantle these clubs but the negroes should be told the truth and it should be pointed out to them that —they are being used for a low and selfish purpose and in the end it might mean disaster for them. At any rate it would at least disturb the present relations between the races which is harmonious and pleasant. White men who come into the state, or white men who are living in the state, and undertake to organize our negroes into clubs and make false promises to them should be very promptly escorted over the state line and ordered to stay out of Mississippi for the good of their health.

Race Problem-1935
United States.

Booneville, Miss. Independent
September 6, 1935

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Two Southern Views---Take Your Pick

The following article, in manner and form, appeared on Page One of The Georgia Woman's World, published in Atlanta, Ga. Mrs. James Rogers Wakefield is the editor:

"RECENT NEGRO APPOINTMENTS BY PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT AND HIS AIDES

"Negro Dr. William J. Thompkins, Kansas City, Kan. Recorder of Deeds of the District of Columbia. Salary $6,000. Has white and colored clerks, and white deputies.

"Negro Robert Lee Vann, Pittsburgh, Pa. Special Assistant to the Attorney General of the United States. High salary. Has two white stenographers, and can use any of forty white women stenographers employed in his division.

"Negro William H. Hastie, Lawyer. Assistant Solicitor for Department of Interior. Salary $5,500.

"Negro Louis H. Mehlinger, Mississippi. Special Assistant Attorney General of the United States. Salary $4,500.

"Negro James Pryor. Confidential Secretary to President Roosevelt.

"Negro Robert H. Weaver. Special Assistant to Secretary Ickes. Salary $6,000.

"Negro Lawrence Oxley, North Carolina. Special Assistant in the Labor Department. High salary.

"Negro Eugene Kinglo Jones, New York. Special Assistant to Secretary Daniel Calhoun Roper, Secretary of Commerce. Salary $7,500. Jones is also Secretary of the Negro National Urban League, of which Mrs. Roosevelt is a Director.

"Negro Mitchell, North Carolina. Municipal Judge in District of Columbia.

"Negro Dr. Carver, Tuskegee, Alabama. Department of Agriculture.

"The negro office holders above named are provided with white stenographers.

"On January 3, 1935, the Kansas City American, a negro newspaper, published the statement that Mrs. Roosevelt entertained at tea a negro woman named Coarlie Franklin Cook and that she also entertained at luncheon the former negro Congressman DePriest and his wife of Chicago.

"At a White House reception to the Judiciary, negroes and whites were mingled together and ate at the buffet luncheon on terms of social equality, with the President and Mrs. Roosevelt, many of the negroes having their wives with them.

"A negro, G. David Houston, former classmate of President Roosevelt, ate lunch with him at the White House.

"It was published here and is much talked about that Mrs. Roosevelt had a negro woman at the White House for two days and nights in one of the guest chambers.

"On Sunday, April 14, 1935, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt appeared at a mass meeting of more than 2,500 negroes at the Metropolitan African Methodist Church in Washington. She is shown in pictures surrounded by negro women, one of whom introduced her."

This newspaper, with the above article, was sent to the Editor of The Pittsburgh Courier by a young Southern white woman, whose accompanying letter follows:

Editor, The Pittsburgh Courier,
2628 Centre Avenue at Francis St.,
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Dear Editor:

I am a Southern college girl who believes in the New Deal and in Mr. Roosevelt. I am enclosing a clipping from "The Atlanta Woman's World," edited by Mrs. J. R. Wakefield. This scurrilous article attacks Mr. Roosevelt because he has appointed a number of outstanding leaders to high offices simply because they were members of the colored race. This sort of poppycock makes my blood boil, because, after all, if these men are capable, then they should be allowed to serve the government in high office.

I know that your paper will rise like a beacon light in a stormy sea and defend these upright citizens and leaders and Mr. Roosevelt against this vicious, dirty attack by this ill-bred, narrow-minded woman.

My college is doing much to do away with prejudice against the colored race, and I often read your paper with interest.

I am a white girl and attend a leading college for women in the South. I do hope that you have the red-blooded manhood in you to answer this despicable woman's trash.

A Believer in Equal Rights for All, regardless of sex, color, or religion.

Here are two Southern views: The one is the die-hard unregenerate type. We must wait until Pellagra and the Hook-Worm take their toll before we may be freed from the old type. Education will multiply the new type, but a little patience and a few more Chapel Hills will do the job. Not a Negro appointee in Washington has a white stenographer of any kind. This ignorant element in the South—the greatest liability of the Democratic party—seems never to have had sense enough to realize that it was the Negro vote in the pivotal States and the Independent vote that put the Democratic party in power. It is the same old case of the blind hog feasting on the acorns without the brains to comprehend from whence the acorns came.—The Editor.

The Supreme Court and The Negro

With the same persistence that was used to prevent any interference with slavery before the Civil War, the Supreme Court of the United States seems to aim to stop any improvement in the status of the colored citizen today.

In declaring that an organization in Texas could bar a citizen from participation in a primary election on the ground of his color, as that court did last spring, after having advised the Texas organization how it could be done, in a prior decision, and refusing to take judicial notice that the State had been constantly Democratic since 1876 ,hence the primary was a virtual election, that court's action was more political than judicial.

And in sending Angelo Herndon back to serve 15 years on a Georgia chaingang, as it did recently, refusing to note that the defendant was acting under the sacred "right of petition," and that cruel and unjust punishments obtain in that section when persons of color are the victims, that august body has licensed the Ku Klux Klan to continue its persecutions without fear.

We venture to suggest that this state of mind on the part of the highest court of the land will prove a weakening of the social structure erected here in the United States at so terrible a price, over so long a time.

John Brown's body lies, and those bodies of other thousands lie moulding in the grave, but his soul and their souls go marching on. Nothing is settled until it is settled right.—The Washington Tribune.

Moultrie, Ga., Observer
November 22, 1935

Of course the race issue is being injected into politics again. We always have a revival of the race issue when we have a democratic president We had it when Cleveland and when Wilson was president. Now we have it again during the Roosevelt administration. It comes about in this way. Our presidents come from northern states They have no race lines up there. The democratic party needs the Negro vote in New York, Ohio Illinois and other populous states just as they need Italian votes. The national democratic party does not put the Negro on the discard. Any offices given Negroes in the north, and any Negroes left in jobs under a democratic administration becomes a red flag to anti-administration democrats in the south. The anti-Roosevelt forces have begun already to bring in the Negro office-holder. All of the attentions shown to Negroes by the president or his family, will be dragged in. It will be used to make out a case against him as a Negro lover. It is old stuff, but it works with some even yet.

Race Problem - 1935
United States

Immediate United Action of Negro and White Needed to Prevent War

AN EDITORIAL

This is not intended to convince you that a new war is about to break loose.

Everybody knows that. The press admits it. Mussolini proclaims it openly. Even the date has been fixed.

This is written to get you to realize that this war is not inevitable, that it can be stopped if—

YOU AND YOU AND YOU ACT TO PREVENT IT.

And there are only a limited number of days in which to do it.

Ethiopia is some six or seven thousand miles away from the United States. But war is not six or seven thousand miles away. How much closer is indicated in this United Press dispatch:

"Rome, Aug. 22.—The influential fascist newspaper, Giornale D'Italia, warned Britain in a scathing editorial today that there is grave threat of a world war over the Ethiopian dispute."

American bankers have $400,000,000 in long-term loans alone in Italy. American capitalists have a stake in every country in Europe. What is workers' and farmers' blood compared to the House of Morgan's dollars?

The neutrality resolution adopted by the Senate will not keep us out of war. **If anything, by favoring Italy to the detriment of Ethiopia, it will help drag us into war.**

It is, therefore, only a question of preventing Mussolini from enslaving the only independent Negro country in the world. It is a question of preventing another 1914-18, this time on a vaster, more terrible scale. It is a question of saving American workers and farmers from being made into fertilizer in order that the profits of Wall Street may bloom more brightly.

There is only one way to keep America out of war: PREVENT WAR. Right now that means Mussolini's criminal war against Ethiopia.

There is only one way to defend peace: DEFEND ETHIOPIA.

And remember: you have only a limited number of days in which to do it!

That means action—NOW—while there's still time. Action of Negro and white, of Republican, Democrat, Socialist, Communist—immediate united action of the broadest masses of the American people.

Committees for the defense of Ethiopia must be organized in every locality where they do not already exist. Where there are such committees, steps should be taken to broaden them out. Where two or more committees are functioning in a single locality, every effort should be made to unite them.

Ethiopia defense conferences, demonstrations, parades, delegations to Italian consulates and other forms of protest should be organized at once on the broadest united front basis. Special efforts should be made to bring Italian and Italian-American people into this movement, a movement which is in support not only of Ethiopia, but of the struggles of the oppressed masses in Italy as well.

The American League Against War and Fascism and its branches throughout the country should take the initiative in developing immediately such a broad, powerful, aggressive movement against this fascist war of plunder that Mussolini will be made to turn back.

In Chicago an Ethiopia defense parade has been organized for Aug. 31, and the Socialist Party, Communist Party, churches, trade unions and fraternal groups are cooperating in the effort to compel the city administration to grant a permit. That example needs to be followed everywhere without delay.

The zero hour approaches. Are we going to let Mussolini apply the match that will explode a new world imperialist war?

War or peace—which shall it be? The answer depends not alone on Mussolini. IT ALSO DEPENDS ON US!

LOUISVILLE, KY.
TIMES

JUN 21 1935

BREAKING THE SOLID SOUTH IS A QUADRENNIAL PASTIME

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Mr. WHALLEN writes that the Solid South is breaking up, with Louisiana certainly gone and Georgia slipping. The old Southern families, he says, "see their system of economic feudalism crumbling before a New Deal which is making the Negro economically independent of them and reducing their cotton crops."

Thus the race question appears as the Ethiopian in *The Herald Tribune's* woodpile, and one needs little imagination to fancy the Old Guard organ's hopefulness that the Democratic Party shall be made to appear, in the South only, as the Negro's friend, and the Republican Party as the defender of the principle of economic slavery for descendents of those LINCOLN freed.

If one could accept as a disinterested social and economic observation the statement that there is apprehension among so many Southerners "lest the development of the State's rights issue should add to the problem of economic independence for the Negro the promise of a new political freedom through a further centralization of powers in Washington and away from the localities which consider their appreciation of the race problem more acute," the article would amount to nothing.

But if the Old Guard spokesman is priming campaigners for appeals to racial prejudice, it is a disgraceful procedure.

Those forces which stirred up religious prejudices in 1928 were vicious and stupid, but one hopes they are not vicious or stupid enough to stir up the race question.

Roslyn Ya
Onwards!
Oct. 16-1935

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We publish it in full. The Woman's National Association for the Preservation of the White Race should be organized in every city and county in America.

"THE WOMAN IN THE WHITE HOUSE"
By Mrs. J. E. Andrews"

(From the GEORGIA WOMEN'S WORLD, Atlanta, Georgia, July 19, 1935)

"We've had many "First Ladies" of the Nation, by comparison, never such a one as we have at present; and in our opinion, not one who has ever graced the White House during all the past years suffers any by comparison with the woman who is supposed to preside at the present time in the White House of the Nation.

"Surely no other roamed the country at will as this one, turning up any hour of the day or night with some unknown woman, or rather one that the country has little knowledge of, and at the most unexpected and unheard places. Surely the white women of the nation, at least those of the South, have not shared the cordial comradeship which is so freely bestowed to and among the Negroes of the nation. Walter White (Negro socialist) and other Negro boys who ran the streets of Atlanta a quarter of a century ago find special favor in the eyes of Roosevelt, and seem to have little trouble in reaching her august presence at any time, and in being able to win her consideration for their pet measures, such as the Anti-Lynching Bill and things of that nature. Efforts to put the women of the South at a more hopeless disadvantage than they have yet had to endure during the years.

"Mrs. Roosevelt is responsible for the election of Caroline O'Day as Congresswoman of Georgia, also for the appointment of Madam Perkins to the Cabinet as Secretary of Labor, both of whom have shown decided preference for Walter White and others of his race. We can

Race Problem - 1935
United States

Immediate United Action of Negro and White Needed to Prevent War

AN EDITORIAL

This is not intended to convince you that a new war is about to break loose.

Everybody knows that. The press admits it. Mussolini proclaims it openly. Even the date has been fixed.

This is written to get you to realize that this war is not inevitable, that it can be stopped if—

YOU AND YOU AND YOU ACT TO PREVENT IT.

And there are only a limited number of days in which to do it.

Ethiopia is some six or seven thousand miles away from the United States. But war is not six or seven thousand miles away. How much closer is indicated in this United Press dispatch:

"Rome, Aug. 22.—The influential fascist newspaper, Giornale D'Italia, warned Britain in a scathing editorial today that there is grave threat of a world war over the Ethiopian dispute."

American bankers have $400,000,000 in long-term loans alone in Italy. American capitalists have a stake in every country in Europe. What is workers' and farmers' blood compared to the House of Morgan's dollars?

The neutrality resolution adopted by the Senate will not keep us out of war. **If anything, by favoring Italy to the detriment of Ethiopia, it will help drag us into war.**

It is, therefore, only a question of preventing Mussolini from enslaving the only independent Negro country in the world. It is a question of preventing another 1914-18, this time on a vaster, more terrible scale. It is a question of saving American workers and farmers from being made into fertilizer in order that the profits of Wall Street may bloom more brightly.

There is only one way to keep America out of war: PREVENT WAR. Right now that means Mussolini's criminal war against Ethiopia.

There is only one way to defend peace: DEFEND ETHIOPIA.

And remember: you have only a limited number of days in which to do it!

That means action—NOW—while there's still time. Action of Negro and white, of Republican, Democrat, Socialist, Communist—immediate united action of the broadest masses of the American people.

Committees for the defense of Ethiopia must be organized in every locality where they do not already exist. Where there are such committees, steps should be taken to broaden them out. Where two or more committees are functioning in a single locality, every effort should be made to unite them.

Ethiopia defense conferences, demonstrations, parades, delegations to Italian consulates and other forms of protest should be organized at once on the broadest united front basis. Special efforts should be made to bring Italian and Italian-American people into this movement, a movement which is in support not only of Ethiopia, but of the struggles of the oppressed masses in Italy as well.

The American League Against War and Fascism and its branches throughout the country should take the initiative in developing immediately such a broad, powerful, aggressive movement against this fascist war of plunder that Mussolini will be made to turn back.

In Chicago an Ethiopia defense parade has been organized for Aug. 31, and the Socialist Party, Communist Party, churches, trade unions and fraternal groups are cooperating in the effort to compel the city administration to grant a permit. That example needs to be followed everywhere without delay.

The zero hour approaches. Are we going to let Mussolini apply the match that will explode a new world imperialist war?

War or peace—which shall it be? The answer depends not alone on Mussolini. IT ALSO DEPENDS ON US!

LOUISVILLE, KY.
TIMES

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quite understand a reasonable and even equal consideration for Walter, but it is hard to understand why women of what must be the same race as Mrs. Roosevelt are utterly ignored. It is not because women, some of them even here in the South would not fawn upon her and accept the very crumbs from her table they do not receive attention. It is not quite popular nor the political thing to do at the present time to respect or show any consideration for white women.

"The tables have taken a sudden and decided turn, and with the present administration, that is with the woman part of it, with the exception of the cultured and splendid mother of the President, the white women of the nation are placed at a decided disadvantage with Negro men.

"Negro newspapers are full of Mrs. Roosevelt's pictures and notices of her addresses to their meetings coupled with such statements as, "She waited to hear the address of the Hon. Walter White"—the same little Negro who, like thousands of others, ran the streets of Atlanta a very short time ago.

"Mrs. Roosevelt recently spoke under the auspices of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People—an organization which Communist leaders claim to have recently invaded. In reporting her speech a Negro newspaper prints her picture and says: "First Lady Helps Get 600 New Members." On the same page there appears another picture of a black man flirting with a white girl, accompanied with this announcement: Russian students leaving summer school at the University of Moscow . . . . American students are getting special invitations from Russia." The obvious inference is that Negro men who desire the affection of white women will do well to visit Moscow during the present summer.

"About the only attention that Mrs. Roosevelt has given to white girls and women, that we can see, was in one of her first radio speeches after her husband was elected President, when she made it her business to, along with other things SHE was not elected to do, to teach girls how to drink liquor. She said: "The average girl of today faces the problem of learning very young how much she can drink of such things as whiskey and gin and sticking to the proper quantity. . . . Unless the parents have been wise and trained her YOUNG to judge for herself and decide between right and wrong she is apt to have some bitter experiences." Two of Mrs. Roosevelt's children have been divorced and re-married since she entered the White House. She is America's First Lady to be a cigarette smoker. Democratic Party, or no party, the mothers of this nation should rise en masse to do some White House cleaning. One more divorce, more or less, would not matter much with the disgusting and sickening corruption that entered the White House with Eleanor Roosevelt and her children.

"The white women of the nation are in sympathy with the rights of colored citizens, but they see no reason why white women who have been elevated to exalted positions should entirely ignore the reasonable and inalienable rights of the white race."

(This article was indorsed in yesterday's meeting by the Woman's National Association for the Preservation of the White Race. Mrs. J. E. Andrews, president; Mrs. Charles W. McDae, vice-president; Mrs. W. T. Mobley, corresponding secretary; Mrs. B. G. Otwell, recording secretary; Mrs. S. E. Baker, treasurer.)

MALIGNING GEORGIA

Earnest protest against the "unfair, unjust and grossly exaggerated exploitation" of the people of Georgia in the play, "The Tobacco Road," is registered in a communication, appearing on the opposite page, by Thomas J. Eberhardt, of Chicago. 11-24-35

In refuting the attack made on Georgia by the author of "The Tobacco Road," and by others who for selfish reasons or in the hope of pecuniary gain have been willing to malign the state, Mr. Eberhardt testifies that "it has been my good fortune to visit many rural localities in your state and if the conditions exist, as one is led to believe on seeing this 'play,' I did not observe them."

This visitor from another great commonwealth saw no such evidence of poverty and depravity in Georgia because they do not exist, save in such isolated instances as unfortunately are to be found in every group as large as the 3,000,000 population of Georgia.

The damage that can be wrought to the good name and reputation of even so great a state as Georgia is revealed in excerpts from a review in the Cleveland Plain Dealer of "The Tobacco Road" inclosed in Mr. Eberhardt's communication and which are also reproduced on the opposite page.

The writer describes the play as "a pig sty drama—the characters being the poorest, most degraded tenant farmers in the scurvy and hookworm belt of Georgia." He further writes that the characters in the play are "brutally poor, unenlightened, beastial and horrifying"—the inference being that such types are commonplace in Georgia.

In the same vein the reviewer deplores the "casualness" with which these people "accept their poverty; and what is really disturbing about their morality is not a proneness to sensuality and theft, but their perfunctory and insensitive attitude to such things, involving an almost complete unawareness and a nearly total loss of the sense of shame."

As every Georgian, and those from other states familiar with conditions here, knows there is no basis in truth for the charge that the people of the rural sections of Georgia are poverty stricken, degraded and lacking in ambition.

They are, to a greater extent than is true in any other state in the Union, the descendants of the hardy Anglo-Saxon pioneers who came to America to carve new homes out of the wilderness. To the courage and intrepid spirit of these pioneers and their descendants is attributable the growth of America into the world's greatest nation.

It is true that many of the people in rural Georgia are not overly possessed of worldly goods, but certainly even these richly deserve the tribute paid in the statement of Mr. Eberhardt that "my experience in Georgia impresses me with the great underlying religious devotion of your people, and their fine sense of honor . . . and for chivalrous respect for womanhood, kindliness, pride and honor I feel that your great state provides a criterion that it will be well for us to observe."

Those who for selfish reasons willfully malign such a people deserve the condemnation and contempt of all right-thinking and fair-minded persons.

Those who ride through rural Georgia and see the neat and comfortable farm homes that dot the state, the clean and progressive small communities—and note the automobiles that throng the country roads as well as the paved highways, the radios, electrical equipment and other evidences of modern development—do not need to be told of the falsity of slanderous attacks upon the character of the people living in the rural sections of the state.

The pity of it is that, as in the case of "The Tobacco Road," these reflections upon Georgia are heard and read by many people who know no better.

To counteract these malicious attacks it is the duty of every patriotic Georgian to tell at every opportunity the inspiring story of the opportunity for progress and happiness that exists in rural Georgia and to express the pride felt by those living in the cities of the state in the sterling character and high ambitions of their fellow citizens who live on the farms and whose efforts have been so largely responsible for making Georgia the Empire State of the South.

Race Problem - 1935
United States.
Roanoke Va.
Chronicle -
Dec. 16 - 1935

THE NEGRO AND SOCIAL EQUALITY AT THE WHITE HOUSE

WHEN Theodore Roosevelt was President, Booker Washington called at the White House and found the President finishing his lunch. He was asked if he had eaten lunch and said he had, according to a statement issued at the time by the White House. He denied that he had eaten lunch with President Theodore Roosevelt. But democratic statesmen and democratic newspapers all over the South proclaimed that Theodore Roosevelt had eaten lunch with a "Nigger". It is now a matter of common knowledge in Washington that negro men and their wives attend receptions at the White House and mingle with the white guests and eat at buffet luncheons with the white men and their wives at White House receptions.

On January 3, 1935, the Kansas City American, a negro newspaper, published the following from Washington:—

"In keeping with her statement, made several months ago, that race, color or creed would never enter into her scheme of social affairs", etc.

Then follows the statement that Mrs. Roosevelt entertained at tea a negro woman named Coarlie Franklin Cook. The writer asked over the phone if it were true that she had tea with Mrs. Roosevelt, and she answered; "Yes, why not?" She was told by the writer that the colored newspaper had mentioned her as a negro and she replied that she was a colored American and she was born of colored American parents in Lexington, Virginia, and that she was only one of many colored American women who had been entertained and had tea with Mrs Roosevelt. She said that Mrs. Roosevelt made no social distinctions because of race or color and was a cosmopolitan woman. She said that Mrs. Roosevelt had entertained at luncheon the former negro Congressman DePriest and his wife of Chicago.

At a White House reception to the Judiciary, negroes and whites were mingled together and ate at the buffet luncheon on terms of social equality, with the President and Mrs. Roosevelt, many of the negroes having their wives with them.

A negro, G. David Houston, former classmate of President Roosevelt ate lunch with him at the White House. When Houston arrived at the White House he was received with ceremony by the white attendants, and after he got out of his automobile his photograph was taken and it appeared in the colored newspapers. He spent a long time at the table eating with the President, perfectly at home.

On Sunday, April 14, 1935, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, appeared at a mass meeting of more than 2,500 negroes at the Metropolitan African Methodist Church in Washington. She is shown in pictures surrounded by negro women, one of whom, Mrs. Robert McGuire introduced her.

The First Lady spoke in behalf of a membership campaign of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, an organization controlled by socialist and communists, and which has been generously supported by communist funds. The official report of the Communist Party 4th National Convention states that the party had penetrated the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Its supporters are largely listed as socialists and communists in the "Red Network", a book by Elizabeth Dilling listing the dangerous organizations controlled by radical socialists and communists. At the meeting Mrs. Roosevelt was paid a tribute by a negro, Walter A. White, who came to Washington from New York. He dwelt upon her work in behalf of the Wagner-Costigan Anti-Lynching Bill pending in congress which is opposed by every southern Senator and member as a violation of states rights. He is an Atlanta negro with an office in New York, and is Secretary of the National Association for the Protection of Colored People, and is on the National Committee of the National Religion and Labor Foundation, listed in the "Red Network" as an organization by socialists and communists in 1932.

That organization issued an atheist cartoon of Jesus Christ ridiculing Christianity and calling upon the masses to throw off capitalism, and Jesus Christ.

In her speech Mrs. Roosevelt used the word "equality" twelve times and "equal" six times, and told the 2,500 negroes that she was for the Wagner-Costigan Anti-Lynching Bill. She concluded by telling the negroes to work for equality of recognition and to use their franchise to obtain what they wish and to make sure that they knew the persons for whom to vote. The Afro-American newspaper published in Washington says that she got 600 new members for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

It was published here [illegible] is much talked about that she had a negro woman at the White House for two days and nights in one of the guest chambers, and that a statement issued from the White House said that the woman had taken sick and was detained at the White House for that reason. Negroes do not say that, and as the Emergency Hospital is but a block away, and there are plenty of automibiles to take a woman to her home the White House explanation is not impressive.

It is a cardinal principle of practical socialism that all social distinctions of race and color must be abolished. Mrs. Roosevelt is described in the "Red Net work" as follows:

"Socialist sympathizer and associate. Pacifist. Non Intervention Citizen Committee (dominated and controlled by socialists and Communists.) 1927. Opposed to the Monroe Doctrine which the Administration has abrogated. 26 of the 75 members of the Intervention Citizens Committee, leading socialists or Communists. Active member of

National Consumers League, a socialists controlled organization aided by the Garland (communist fund.) Co-worker with many radicals some of whom have been appointed to government positions by her husband. Donated Radio fees to radical American Friends Service Committee, Donated her services broadcasting over Socialists Debs Memorial Radio Station, etc."

All above organizations admit negroes on social and racial equality with the whites. Many other activities of Mrs. Roosevelt are mentioned in the "Red Network". Up to this time she had made no denial or attempted to correct any reference to her in that book.

A recent picture of Mrs. Roosevelt in the Washington newspapers show her sitting beside a negro woman at negro welfare gathering so near together that their bodies touched.

Tampa [illegible]
August 30, 1935

The Race Question In Civil Service

Those who have scoffed at the likelihood of Senator Simpson's civil service law opening every public job in Jefferson County to negroes might well peruse the decree of the United States District Court at Birmingham rendered last week in which the Federal Court held that a foreign insurance company had a right to rent an apartment house in a white section to negroes, notwithstanding Birmingham's zoning law and the efforts of Commissioner Robinson and his colleague, Commissioner Downs to prevent it.

A movement is under way in Alabama to qualify negroes as electors and we may expect some court tests of our registration and election laws in the near future if what we learn about this movement is correct.

The negro recently forced his way into the ranks of the American Legion in Alabama and a negro post of the Legion is now located at Tuskegee. A negro congressman recently invaded Alabama boosting President Roosevelt. These are signs which make us wonder how far the effort to break down the color line will go.

We assert for the beenfit of the record that when negroes are inducted into public service in Jefferson County, the Simpson civil service law, if it becomes a law, will be responsible.

Avon Park, Fla., Times
August 30, 1935

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Race Problem – 1935.

United States.

NEWS

Virginia Leader, Va

13

As Others See It

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It was published here and is much talked about that she had a negro women at the White House for two days and nights in one of the guest chambers, and that a statement issued from the White House said that the woman had taken sick and was detained at the White House for that reason. Negroes do not say that, and as the Emergency Hospital is but a block away, and there are plenty of automobiles to take a woman to her home, the White House explanation is not impressive.

It is a cardinal principle of practical socialists that all social distinctions of race and color must be abolished. Mrs. Roosevelt is described in the "Red Network" as follows:

"Socialist sympathizer and associate. Pacifist. Non Intervention Citizen Committee (dominated and controlled by socialists and communists.) 1927. Opposed to the Monroe Doctrine which the Administration has abrogated. 36 of the 75 members of the Inter-vention Citizens Committee, leading socialists or communists. Active member of National Consumers League, a socialist controlled organization aided by the Garland (communist fund.) Co-worker with many radicals, some of whom have been appointed to government positions by her husband. Donated radio fees to radical American Friends Service Committee. Donated her services broadcasting over Socialists Debs Memorial Radio Station, etc."

All above organizations admit negroes on social and racial equality with the whites. Many other activities of Mrs. Roosevelt are mentioned in the "Red Network." Up to this time she has made no denial or attempted to correct any reference to her in that book.

A recent picture of Mrs. Roosevelt in the Washington newspapers show her sitting beside a negro woman at negro welfare gathering so near together that their bodies touched.

Negroes and Whites In Departments

Numerous negroes of prominence have been appointed to high salaried key positions in Washington.

Dr. William J. Thompkins has been appointed Recorder of Deeds of the District of Columbia. He is from Kansas City and owner of the Kansas City American, leading negro newspaper. He has white deputies and both white and colored clerks. His salary is $6,000 a year.

Robert Lee Vann, owner of a negro newspaper, the Pittsburgh Courier, in Pittsburgh, Pa., has been appointed to the position as Special Assistant to the Attorney General of the United States at a high salary. He is provided with two white stenographers. There are 40 white women stenographers in the division in which he works. He can use any of them if needed. A story is told of a stenographer, a young lady, refusing to take dictation from a negro. She was transferred to another division. To have dismissed her would have made too good a story for the newspapers.

William H. Hastie has been appointed Assistant Solicitor for Department of Interior, salary $5,500 per annum. He is a negro politician and lawyer. Louis H. Mehlinger of Mississippi, a negro, has been appointed Special Assistant Attorney General of the United States, salary $4,500. What senator from Mississippi got him the job?

James Pryor, a negro, is confidential secretary to President Roosevelt. Robert H. Weaver, a negro politician, has been appointed Special Assistant to Secretary Ickes, salary, $6,000, per annum. Lawrence Oxley of North Carolina has been appointed a special assistant at a high salary in the Labor Department.

Eugene Kingle Jones, a New York negro politician has been appointed a Special Assistant to Secretary Daniel Calhoun Roper, Secretary of Commerce at a salary of $7,500 per annum. This is a negro League of which Mrs. Roosevelt is a Director. It has headquarters in New York and the wife of our President puts herself on the plane of equality with this and other negroes in the League. The negro office holders above named are provided with white stenographers.

Women Denounce Mrs. Roosevelt

A group of cultured women in Atlanta, Georgia, have organized 'The Woman's Association for the

Preservation of the White Race." They publish the "Georgia Women's World." The following editorial "The Woman in the White House," we publish in full. The Woman's National Association for the Preservation of the White Race should be organized in every city and county in America.

"The Woman In The White House"
"By Mrs. J. E. Andrews

"(From Georgia Woman's World Atlanta, Georgia, July 19, 1935).

"We've had many 'First Ladies' of the Nation, by comparison, never such a one as we have at present; and in our opinion, not one who has ever graced the White House during all the past years suffers any by comparison with the woman who is supposed to preside at the present time in the White House of the Nation.

"Surely no other roamed the country at will as this one, turning up any hour of the day or night with some unknown woman or rather one that the country has little knowledge of, and at the most unexpected and unheard places. Surely the white women of the nation, at least those of the South have not shared the cordial comradeship which is so freely bestowed to and among the Negroes of the nation. Walter White (Negro socialist) and other Negro boys who ran the streets at Atlanta a quarter of a century ago seem to find special favor in the eyes of Madam Roosevelt, and seem to have little or no trouble in reaching her august presence at any time, and in being able to win her consideration and support for their pet measures, such as the Anti-Lynching Bill and things of that nature designed to put the women of the white race at a more hopeless disadvantage than they have yet had to endure during the past seventy years.

"Mrs. Roosevelt is responsible for the election of Caroline O'Day as Congresswoman of New York and also for the appointment of Madam Perkins to the Cabinet as Secretary of Labor, both of whom have shown their strong and decided preference for Walter White and others of his race. We can quite understand a reasonable and even equal consideration for Walter, but it is hard to understand why women of what must be the same race as Mrs. Roosevelt are utterly ignored. It is not because women some of them even here in the South would not fawn upon her and accept the very crumbs from her table they do not receive attention. It is not quite popular nor the political thing to do at the present tme to respect or show any consideration for white women.

"The tables have taken a sudden and decided turn, and with the present administration, that is with the woman part of it, with the exception of the cultured and splendid mother of the President, the white women of the nation are placed at a decided disadvantage with negro men.

"Negro newspapers are full of Mrs. Roosevelt's pictures and notices of her addresses to their meetings coupled with such statements as "She waited to hear the address of Hon. Walter White'—the same little Negro who, like thousands of others, ran the streets of Atlanta a very short time ago.

"Mrs. Roosevelt recently spoke under the auspices of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People—an organization which Communist leaders claim to have recently invaded. In reporting her speech a Negro newspaper prints her picture and says: 'First Lady Helps Get 600 New Members.' On the same page there appears another picture of a black man flirting with a white girl, accompanied with this announcement: 'Russian students leaving summer school at the University of Moscow . . . American students are getting special invitations from Russia.' The obvious inference is that Negro men who desire the affection of white women will do well to visit Moscow during the present summer.

"About the only attention that Mrs. Roosevelt has given to white girls and women, that we can see, was in one of her first radio speeches after her husband was elected President, when she made it her business, along with other things she was not elected to do, to teach girls how to drink liquor. She said: "The average girl of today faces the problem of learning very young how much she can drink of such things as whiskey and gin and sticking to the proper quantity . . . Unless the parents have been wise and trained her young to judge for herself and decide between right and wrong, she is apt to have some bitter experiences.' Two of Mrs. Roosevelt's children have been divorced and re-married since she entered the White House. She is America's First Lady to be a cigarette smoker. Democratic Party, or no party, the mothers of this nation should rise en masse to do some White House cleaning. One more divorce, more or less, would not matter much with the disgusting and sickening corruption that entered the White House with Eleanor Roosevelt and her children.

"The white women of the nation are in sympathy with the rights of colored citizens, but they see no reason why white women who have been elevated to exalted positions should entirely ignore the reasonable and inalienable rights of the white race."

—The Rosslyn Chronicle

DR. GILES ON HIS SOUTHERN TREATMENT

Last August, returning from the Colored National Medical Association held in New Orleans, Dr. Roscoe C. Giles of Chicago, with his wife, had the misfortune of having a collision of his automobile with that of another driven by a white man near Jackson, Miss. Mrs. Giles was severely injured. The next week a certain Northern colored newspaper carried a lurid story of the accident. It was to the effect that the Doctor was abused and menaced by a crowd of whites who gathered after the accident; in fact that the physician had to practically flee the vicinity; that his wife could not get the necessary treatment to save her life for a long time after, and that in an ill kept basement of a hospital in Jackson, Miss. Reading the story one would get the impression that Dr. and Mrs. Giles had fallen in the midst of wild head hunters. Dr. Giles, however, who is a former President of the National Medical Association and Surgeon-in-chief of Provident Hospital of Chicago, knowing that the story was untrue as to the treatment received wrote a letter to that paper giving the facts and requested that the story be corrected. Instead of being inhumanly treated and his wife neglected he was kindly treated and Mrs. Giles sympathetically and skillfully ministered unto by a surgeon of the Baptist Hospital where she was carried in a private ambulance. Not only that, but a drawing room on the train was without difficulty secured to carry them to their home—Chicago. What a difference between facts and a mean imagination!

Colored Northern papers do not [illegible] welfare of the colored people of the South by foolish, untruthful stories of anything touching them. Such brutality and hardness of heart as that story told is certainly not common in the South. The fact is, in sickness and distress, the colored people can always depend upon white Southerners for aid and help—and they do not always wait to be asked. Dr. Giles proves himself a real man in not being willing for such a story to go unchallenged. His sense of fairness is worthy of wide adoption.

Justice (?) Department

IN THE current issue of *The Crisis* is an article WALTER WHITE entitled "U. S. Department of (White) Justice." In it he states: "The Department of Justice in Washington may lay claim to a 100 percent performance in at least one branch of its activities—the evasion of cases involving burning questions of Negro rights." Particularly does Mr. WHITE flay the department for its attitude on the exclusion of Negroes from southern elections and on the question of lynching.

Proof that Mr. WHITE has sound reasons for criticising the department exists in Attorney General CUMMINGS' silence and inaction on affidavits filed by citizens of Wilkesboro, N. C., complaining that the registrar refused to permit them to register and vote in the November congressional election. The affidavits were filed in early spring and later new information was forwarded the Attorney General. Still nothing has been done.

It is understood that the Department of Justice dodges this particular case and others like it because it feels they are loaded with political dynamite. There may be some truth in that, but what has the justice department to do with political exigencies when matters of human and legal rights hang in the balance?

For the sake of argument, let's discuss the political dynamite viewpoint. On that score we think the Attorney General doesn't know that in some respects some parts of the South have done a lot of advancing. One of these advances has been on the question of voting. No Virginia case of the past half dozen years, for instance, has had to go beyond local court first appealed to or the State Supreme Court to bring registering and voting rights to Negroes. One case arising in Richmond got a favorable decision from Federal Judge GRONER in the District U. S. Court.

The Upper South at least is ready to grant the Negro the right to vote without turning topsy-turvey. Until the Department of Justice learns it will have no answer to the following indictment phrased by Mr. WHITE: "The Attorney General continues his offensive against crime—except crimes involving the deprivation of life and liberty and citizenship to Negroes."

Race Problem — 1935.
United States.

Johnson Approves Social Equality in Open Forum Talk

Upon American

Definition Robs Theory of Mystery and Customary Bugbear.

3-16-35

FINDS INTELLECTUALS HAVE LESS PREJUDICE

Baltimore, Md.

American Artistic Contributions Traced.

BALTIMORE.—Social equality has a staunch advocate in Dr. James Weldon Johnson, professor of creative literature at Fisk University, he declared before the Baltimore Open Forum here on Sunday afternoon.

At the close of his lecture on "Creative Literature," Dr. Johnson, replying to a query as to how far he believed social equality should go in the United States, declared that the question might be better phrased by asking "How far has social equality already gone?"

"There's no mystery about this thing called social equality," the speaker explained. "It merely means that two persons having common interests should be permitted to associate voluntarily without any restrictions of law or public opinion. I certainly am heartily in favor of this," he added.

Varied Versions Cited

Different sections have different definitions of social equality, the Fisk professor pointed out. In some, social equality may be taken to mean intermarriage, while in others the breathing of air in the same public park may be taken as a manifestation of social equality.

Dr. Johnson illustrated his point by describing the dilemma of a red cap at the union station in Atlanta upon an occasion when he (Dr. Johnson) had traveled with a white companion by train from New York.

"As he took our bags," the speaker related, "I could see as I walked behind him that this red cap was wrestling within his mind as to whether he should take me with my companion out of the main entrance of the station or to take my companion with me out of the little gate set apart for people of my race."

Thinks Intellectuals Broader

Asked whether he found less racial prejudice among white intellectuals than he did among the white masses, Dr. Johnson replied affirmatively.

"One must remember, however," he added, "that there are many persons who class themselves as intellectuals who really are not. Persons who hold up their hands in horror at the reports of atrocities in other lands, but who somehow fail to recognize the brutalities and discriminations rampant in their own country, are really not intellectuals in the true sense of the word."

Artistic Contributions Cited

In the course of his lecture, Dr. Johnson declared that colored Americans have been active and passive influences upon American life, and that present American life could not possibly be what it is without these influences.

As creative material for white artists, the speaker pointed to "Uncle Tom's Cabin," by Harriett Beecher Stowe, the Uncle Remus tales of Joel Chandler Harris, the music of Stephen Foster, and the plays of Eugene O'Neill and Marc Connelly as indicative. These influences, he said, are far more positive than those of the aboriginal Indian upon America.

O'Neill Fame Traced

The speaker cited the coincidence that Eugene O'Neill, whose play, "The Emperor Jones," marked him as the first American dramatist of world stature, was the son of James O'Neill, the actor, who made fame and fortune in the Alexandre Dumas play, "The Count of Monte Cristo." Both employed themes provided by black men.

White Americans who lynch their black fellow citizens, Dr Johnson stated, cannot well point their fingers at Adolf Hitler for his persecution of the Jews. "They, themselves," he said, "have had their own characters modified by the opportunity and temptation to hypocrisy, injustice, discrimination and cruelty."

BALTIMORE — Lauding the virtues of dialect and the outstanding contributions in the fields of art and literature, Dr. James Weldon Johnson, writer and professor of creative literature, spoke to more than 2,000 persons, Friday, at the City-Wide Young People's Forum in Bethel Church.

Addresses AFRO Club

On Saturday afternoon, Dr. Johnson addressed the AFRO Club at the AFRO-AMERICAN building.

Baltimore Sun
June 13, 1935

Our Practical Traditions

When Senator Byrnes, returning from a visit to South Carolina, reports to the Associated Press in Washington that his "home state despite its traditions is enthusiastically behind the president and would support any move he made, even to a change in the constitution, if it was found necessary to preserve the progress that has been made," he may speak correctly. We are not so sure—there is little of which we are so sure.

We do know that the number of federal office-holders has been immensely increased in the state, many of them receiving handsome salaries, that thousands are holding minor jobs that tens of thousands of persons are receiving relief, that millions of dollars are dropping into the state out of the enormous fund borrowed and placed at the president's disposal, that farmers are receiving offsetting subsidies to the tariff and refuse to be concerned about the loss of foreign markets. We do know that when a state as poor as South Carolina receives gifts from government it is not likely to find out that the "real money" goes to the big cities and doubtful states.

Therefore, we say that Senator Byrnes may be right and that were the event to show that he is not right it would be proof of South Carolinian character that would distinguish it among peoples. It is not uncommon for men to foregt traditions when the Money Power comes on the scene with handouts. The "enthusiasm" reported by the senator is natural, humanly natural. Have not the rock-ribbed Republican states of Maine and Pennsylvania surrendered to the "Democracy"?

If the "traditions" are to be forgotten, if South Carolina is to surrender state rights, if it is to consent to the Centralization of Power in Washington and the delegation of control of business and industry to Washington officials, it is fair to examine what it all means and candidly face the new era.

We cannot surrender state rights in respect of business and industry, we cannot amend the constitution and deliver control over them to Washington without giving up "traditions" and practices based on them which we have found useful.

For example, about 85,000 white men and women of South Carolina are working in cotton mills from which negro men and women are now excluded.

Were control of industry centralized in government, would this discrimination, which The News and Courier approves and defends, continue? Does Senator Byrnes guarantee its continuance? Can he even insure the state against the return of Republican government or government more radical than Republican?

The News and Courier reminds its readers that when the Walter White bill, the Costigan-Wagner or anti-lynching bill, so valiantly and ably opposed by Senator Byrnes in the filibuster, was before the senate, President Roosevelt was favorable to its uassage, or it was proclaimed in press dispatches from Washington and not denied. Walter White, a leader of New York's negroes, wrote that bill and Pearson and Allen, Washington correspondents, in their syndicated letter asserted that he brought the president's wife to its support and that she persuaded the president to favor it.

The upshot of the matter is that if we give up our "traditions" of state rights in South Carolina we shall give up the privilege of handling our affairs in our own way, and this applies especially to the "negro problem." The News and Courier's belief is that white people have got to practice forms of racial discrimination in the South or get out of the South, and we can't practice them under a centralized government with the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendment on the books. If Southerners go much farther in consenting to centralization, they will be helpless to oppose effectively anything that Washington orders even if it be the opening of all publicity supported schools and of hotels to all races and colors.

Senator Byrnes is as far from desiring these things as we are, he would shoulder a musket to prevent them, but we are reminding the South Carolinians, the senator included, that we have been able to protect our white civilization so far solely because we have succeeded in saving some threds of the state's independence, integrity, "traditions."

The answer from the office-holders to what we have said will be that it is rediculous. They will dismiss it with scorn.

Still, we say to our people that "tradtions" of the state's right to manage its own affairs, including business and industry, are the most valuable possessions we have.

We heartily agree with the above editorial in the News and Courier, and we go further to say that Senator Byrnes is badly wrong. There are many full blooded South Carolinians that would not and will not approve of that kind of a change in the Constitution.

The Jew in Account with the Negro

Christian Index
7-18-35

"In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed" is the promise given by God to Abraham, whose fulfilment through the ages adds confidence to our relief in the inspiration of the Hebrew Scriptures. The Jew is playing a leading role in the social, economic, philanthropic, and humane movements in all parts of the world.

The contact of the Jew and the Negro in recent times has been mainly economical and philanthropic.

The Hebraic invasion in the management and instruction in Howard has been involved in the raging controversy which rocks the capstone of Negro education. I do not now and here propose to enter into the political aspects of this discussion. There are three Jews on the Trustee Board and several on the professional staff of Howard University. Of the ability and fine spirits of these Hebrew instructors, I can gladly and willingly bear personal testimony. Hon. Harold L. Ickes, Secretary of the Interior, it appears, at first suggested the dismissal of Pres. Mordecai W. Johnson, but afterwards, for some unexplained reason, changed his mind. What the Hebraic issue has to do with all of this must be dissolved by keener ingenuity than mine.

The Jew, as a race, has undoubtedly superior intellectual endowment, as is evidenced by the ease with which they win the Noble prize against competition of the Gentile world which constitutes 99 per cent of their competitors. Einstein, who is conceded to be the greatest living intellect in his domain, is a lineal descendant of Abraham.

The Jew labors under many of the disabilities of the Negro. Belonging as he does to the white race, the prejudice against him, however, is of low visibility and not complicated by the question of color. He is being more and more severely limited in his opportunity to exploit his superior talent and attainment among Gentiles. American colleges and universities are becoming more active and zealous in restricting the Semitic influence on their faculties and over their students. Adolph Hitler's drastic program against the Jews in Germany was inspired, in large part, by Teutonic jealousy, as the Jewish professors, thinkers, and scholars well nigh monopolized the higher places in the intellectual life of the Fatherland. Jewish professors were excluded from faculties in German universities and very narrowly restricted in their opportunity to practice the learned professions. As a result there was an exodus of Jewish professors, scientists and philosophers to more tolerant lands. Even Einstein was banished to America. By virtue of their superior equipment, many of them found teaching and research opportunities in other countries of a lower intellectual development.

Indeed, this is the way in which culture has been disseminated throughout the ages. When Greece was overrun by her more barbarous and less cultured neighbors her scholars found refuge in the less developed portions of Northern Europe, and carried with them the lights of knowledge and learning. American universities may become greatly enriched by the influx of Jewish scholars and thinkers expelled from their native land by the wrath of Hitler. This opportunity, however, will not be fully availed of because America is tarred with the same brush of Semitic prejudice as her Teutonic cousins, albeit, it may not at present express itself in so violent a form.

Jewish students in American universities find themselves at the end of their course, befitted in somewhat the same manner as the poor Negro. They stand very little chance of being chosen on the faculty of their Alma Mater unless perchance their superior genius makes such selection imperative. There not being a sufficient constituency of their own race to furnish segregated colleges and universities, their youth must seek outlet for their talents and attainments outside of Jewery. Looking around then, for opportunity, small wonder that Negro colleges and universities would prove attractive to them. Here lies a fresh, unplowed field. The Negro cadet in scholarship can hardly be supposed to be able to compete with them. Thus arises the issue as to how far it is wise to encourage the Jewish re-enforcement of Negro faculties at the expense of ambitious Negro cadets who are absolutely limited to this field. Here, as elsewhere, wise statesmanship and practical wisdom must be the guide. But speaking broadly, the Jew with his superior inheritance and endowment, can be incalculable advantage to the Negro along many lines of intellectual endeavor and higher strivings. A fellow-feeling makes us wondrous kind. Subject to somewhat similar proscriptions as ourselves, they may enter into sympathetic understanding with our problems and difficulties. It was a sad day for the Ku Klux Klan, and a glad one for the Negro when they bracketed him and the Jew under the same ban of proscription. It was the Jew and not the Negro that put the Ku Klux Klan out of commission. This but illustrates how these proscribed groups in American life may be mutually helpful with the Jew leading the way.

The invasion of the Semitic element in Howard University is deeply significant and suggestive: Julius Rosenwald a Jew, was the greatest benefactor of the Negro race. Strange to say, his benefactions fell primarily in the field of education and religious endeavor. Think of the Hebrew who does not accept the Saviorship of Jesus, endowing young men's Christian associations for neglected Negro manhood. At Howard University we have had the anomanly of a Jewish President of the Board of Trustees presiding over the destiny of a Protestant Theological Seminary. But these are more excrescent inconsistencies, that always will appear where radical adjustments are taking place.

In an early release I will discuss the Jew and the Negro in the business world.

KELLY MILLER

Washington. D. C.

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.
JOURNAL

JUL 8 1935

The Negro and the New Deal

Little has been heard from Administration sources of the relationship of the New Deal to the Negro. When the industrial NRA codes were being formed, the status of the Negro worker had to be considered. It was largely in what he had to do with raw material for the great textile industry, cotton production, ginning, transportation and the like, that the Negro was most important. But there was constant color line difficulty with CWA, PWA, FERA and other agencies.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, in its annual report, presents many cases of what it pronounces "shameless discrimination against Negro labor."

Numerous citations show discrimination in code operation, if not in code purpose, assuming compensation difference to mean discrimination. There is no political connotation in the report, but there must be considerable of it outside, if the N. A. A. C. P. instances may be taken as typical.

The impression given by the report is that the New Deal has not made the Democracy more solid with the colored brother than before. Most Negroes are Republicans at heart, although many find little opportunity for expression at the polls. In so far as winning them over is concerned, the Democrats have made no progress. Throughout the entire early administration of NRA, they had grievances to which apparently was given only passing attention. When NRA finally went to its death, they felt they could not be worse off anyway, and were glad to see it go.

Race Problem - 1935
United States.

Columbia U. Economist Sees Mixed Unions as Solution to Race Problem

Prof. George Sinclair Mitchell, of the department of economics of Columbia University, believes that the increasing inclusion of colored and white workers in the same labor unions is causing, and will continue to advance, improved general relations between the two races.

This belief is emphasized in a current article by Prof. Mitchell in the American Scholar, in which he reviews the recent development of mixed unions, in the North and South, together with the conditions prompting such development and the difficulties encountered.

Excerpts from the article follow:

Separate Unions Weak

In some fields, and especially on the railroads, colored workers have formed separate unions of their own, often unrecognized by the whites and by the employers.

Abram L. Harris, the authority in the field of trade unionism, gives their reported membership in trade unions in 1928 as about 55,000 of whom the largest groups were railway employees, coal miners, longshoremen, musicians, hod-carriers, and government employees.

Some twenty-four national unions are on the list of those excluding all but whites from membership by clauses in their constitution or rituals. On this list stand the leading unions in the metal trades and nearly all those on the railroads.

Exclusion Halts Advance

The effect of open exclusions and of far more powerful general discrimination by mechanical and industrially employed whites is to disbar workers in the South from promotion to skilled places and to make the holding of good jobs very difficult to those in the North.

And many unions which practice exclusion are led into embittered racial prejudice since these workers, having no organized loyalty to the white, quite understandably become ready substitutes for the white men's jobs when there is a walkout.

Unions of the semi-skilled have shown less of the exclusive spirit, and the spread of organization in those fields makes possible not only industrial advance but carries with it also the seeds of improved racial understanding.

Birmingham Leads

Probably in Birmingham, Alabama, is to be found the liveliest trade unionism among colored workers in any one city today. Because Birmingham has a unique concentration of these workers in heavy industries the movement there has no duplicates in Southern cities, but the influence of Birmingham's success with such organization is important in other Southern areas.

Birmingham's labor movement in the pre-depression period was confined almost entirely to the skilled men in the building trades, the railway crafts, and a few city trades. The city has within its reach over 20,000 coal miners, 3,500 iron ore miners, 12 to 15,000 iron and steel workers, and some thousands more engaged in cement plants, sawmills, brickworks, and quarries.

In these heavy industries and in mining, the proportion of colored hands runs from 40 to 80 per cent. Except for sporadic organization among the coal miners, none of these thousands of workers had been organized at all.

NRA Gives Impetus

In 1930, when the American Federation of Labor launched an organizing drive in the South with Birmingham as headquarters, the movement foundered on just this question of organizing the men in the heavy industries; the Ku Klux Klan was too powerful to permit unionization of colored men with whites, and separate organization seemed useless. But even in 1930 the city had had two years of lessened business activity and by 1933 the suffering from unemployment and low wages was extreme.

The launching of the NRA gave rise to organization on a large scale and this time the major industries were invaded, and invaded with mixed trade unionism. The United Mine Workers swept through the Alabama mines, their organizers holding up fistfuls of silver and paper-dollars and promising high cash pay instead of company store checks as a reward for joining.

Colored and white men flooded in; within eighteen months there were scarcely 2000 miners in Alabama who were not union members, paying through the check-off.

Others Follow South

Shortly after the coal miners had organized, the ore miners and blast furnace men sent North for organizers from the Mine, Mill, and Smelters Workers and within a few months had unionized several thousand, and several hundred whites.

The iron and steel union drew in 2000 men but kept them only a short time; it has since practically succumbed to company unionism in Birmingham's branch mills of the United States Steel Corporation.

More thousands joined Federal Labor Unions in iron and cement works. Organization spilled over into the white-collar classes, reaching bank clerks, construction foremen, and technical and clerical workers. One enterprising ex-preacher formed an association of several hundred farm hands, domestic servants, housewives, and unemployed people, getting them a state charter as the Forgotten Workers of America.

By the middle of last autumn, at least 35,000 new members had gone into trade unions in the Birmingham district and of these only about 10,000 were whites, all but a few thousand of them were meeting in the same halls with the whites.

Railroad Shops

A less vigorous but still active movement for organization could be instanced in the railway repair shops of the South. The white crafts which have long controlled the mechanic jobs show no sign of letting up on their policy of keeping colored out of membership and out of skilled work; on the contrary in the last few years they have strengthened their pressure to remove from good places those who were promoted as strikebreakers in the 1922 strike.

Colored helpers are numerous in the shops and common labor is mainly colored. Neither of these classes had had any worthwhile organization until recently; in negotiations with the management they were represented, in theory, by white union members, who might not give unprejudiced consideration to their grievances.

Railway Labor Act Helped

Since the passage of the 1933 amendment to the Railway Labor Act, however, definite steps have been taken to bring these workers into the field of solidarity. The union of stationary firemen and oilers has had its jurisdiction extended to cover both helpers and common laborers, and in many shops they have joined.

Representation is still indirect, the bargaining being done by all-white committees, and men have been hanging back partly on this account. Whatever growth there has been in their membership has coincided with a general substitution of straight A. F. of L. unionism for the company unions, which had been in the field in many shops since the 1922 strike.

Federal Unions Formed

Accompanying this activity in heavy industry and in railroad shops in the South, there has gone a general swelling-out of membership in the unions of longshoremen, quarrymen, building tradesmen, cooks and waiters, and building service men. Many new Federal Labor Unions, composed mainly or in part of colored men, have been formed, particularly in the South.

Typical groups entering these unions have been cement workers, laundry employees, lumbermen, food-packers, janitors, greenhouse workers, brickyard men, and miscellaneous railroad crafts.

In several Southern cities the organizations of colored and white unemployed have been active. At many points the few who work in the textile mills have also been brought into the unions.

North More Active

In the big Northern industrial plants the colored workers have organized in about the same proportion as the whites. In steel they joined readily, though usually little special effort was made to appeal to them, but their membership in the weak steel union has thus far availed them and the whites very little.

In slaughtering and meat-packing a real effort was made to bring them in, but the tradition of their encroachment in the industry is strong, and although many joined both they and the white workers were luke-warm, leaving little room for permanent unionism.

Considerable numbers of garment workers have been organized, and the Pullman porters have grown rapidly in strength. On many lines dining-car cooks and waiters are being unionized into a local which for the first time contains the white stewards. Building-service employees in some Northern cities are well organized.

Race Relations Benefit

From the point of view of improved race relationships it is from the mixed union, especially in the South, that most is to be expected. The power of employers to hold both races to low standards by playing off one group against the other is well understood; and both have found a new source of mutual knowledge in the determination to lessen that power—a determination in which all of the mixed unions have been formed.

The extreme degree of segregation in the South has made even acquaintance between working people of separate races a thing to be shunned. Mixed trade unionism, calling for confidence from each race that it will be assisted by the other in a common drive for advance, makes interracial acquaintance a necessity.

The movement proceeds within a cloud of prejudice; each race is cautious to give no offense to the South's fear of whatever is implied in the term "social equality." At meetings, colored and white members sit on different sides of the union halls, the chair in almost every case is occupied by a white officer, and for the general membership the relationship involved in the industrial movement ceases at the foot of the lodge staircase when the meeting is over.

Leaders Get Together

For the leadership of each group some further conference is required, and a good many respected whites have found their way to the front porches of workers' houses for the urging of this or that. It is this double network of understanding, generalized for the body of members but quite effective among the leaders, that gives rise to a hope that out of mixed unionism can come a lessening of intolerance and of interracial violence.

Colored persons as well as whites stand to gain from this broad improvement. Since in many unions

Some Disturbances Inevitable in the South.

The movement of course has its some success. In defense of the dangers. Many whites, especially Birmingham among them Communists it must be said that among the skilled groups, consider Communist agitation has been im- can make trouble—and they were early in the field, point- of that kind spreads easily and that the prejudice ing out the advantages of common of building a web of membership can be aroused against the inside the standard unions has had of the Southern social pattern and membership, and that their cour- which can be aroused against the age in the face of police persecu- mixed trade unionism a violation tion and will inevitably slacken their sacrifice out of their low earnings either stand aloof or actively op- and will inevitably threatens disorder. Communists

When strikes occur and the former are a majority or a powerful minority, this can and does exert a steady pressure for white recognition of the prejudice. They well know the effect of prejudice on promotion. "When it comes to getting skilled work, our faces are against us," is a common recognition of the prejudice. They pay dues at a high rate of

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United States.

Columbia U. Economist Sees Mixed Unions as Solution to Race Problem

Prof. George Sinclair Mitchell, of the department of economics of Columbia University, believes that the increasing inclusion of colored and white workers in the same labor unions is causing, and will continue to advance, improved general relations between the two races.

This belief is emphasized in a current article by Prof. Mitchell in the American Scholar, in which he reviews the recent development of mixed unions, in the North and South, together with the conditions prompting such development and the difficulties encountered.

Excerpts from the article follow:

Separate Unions Weak

In some fields, and especially on the railroads, colored workers have formed separate unions of their own, often unrecognized by the whites and by the employers.

Abram L. Harris, the authority in the field of trade unionism, gives their reported membership in trade unions in 1928 as about 55,000 of whom the largest groups were railway employees, coal miners, longshoremen, musicians, hod-carriers, and government employees.

Some twenty-four national unions are on the list of those excluding all but whites from membership by clauses in their constitution or rituals. On this list stand the leading unions in the metal trades and nearly all those on the railroads.

Exclusion Halts Advance

The effect of open exclusions and of far more powerful general discrimination by mechanical and industrially employed whites is to disbar workers in the South from promotion to skilled places and to make the holding of good jobs very difficult to those in the North.

And many unions which practice exclusion are led into embittered racial prejudice since these workers, having no organized loyalty to the white, quite understandably become ready substitutes for the white men's jobs when there is a walkout.

Unions of the semi-skilled have shown less of the exclusive spirit, and the spread of organization in those fields makes possible not only industrial advance but carries with it also the seeds of improved racial understanding.

Birmingham Leads

Probably in Birmingham, Alabama, is to be found the liveliest trade unionism among colored workers in any one city today. Because Birmingham has a unique concentration of these workers in heavy industries the movement there has no duplicates in Southern cities, but the influence of Birmingham's success with such organization is important in other Southern areas.

Birmingham's labor movement in the pre-depression period was confined almost entirely to the skilled men in the building trades, the railway crafts, and a few city trades. The city has within its reach over 20,000 coal miners, 3,500 iron ore miners, 12 to 15,000 iron and steel workers, and some thousands more engaged in cement plants, sawmills, brickworks, and quarries.

In these heavy industries and in mining, the proportion of colored hands runs from 40 to 80 per cent. Except for sporadic organization among the coal miners, none of these thousands of workers had been organized at all.

NRA Gives Impetus

In 1930, when the American Federation of Labor launched an organizing drive in the South with Birmingham as headquarters, the movement foundered on just this question of organizing the men in the heavy industries; the Ku Klux Klan was too powerful to permit unionization of colored men with whites, and separate organization seemed useless. But even in 1930 the city had had two years of lessened business activity and by 1933 the suffering from unemployment and low wages was extreme.

The launching of the NRA gave rise to organization on a large scale and this time the major industries were invaded, and invaded with mixed trade unionism. The United Mine Workers swept through the Alabama mines, their organizers holding up fistfuls of silver and paper-dollars and promising high cash pay instead of company store checks as a reward for joining.

Colored and white men flooded in; within eighteen months there were scarcely 2000 miners in Alabama who were not union members, paying through the check-off.

Others Follow South

Shortly after the coal miners had organized, the ore miners and blast furnace men sent North for organizers from the Mine, Mill, and Smelters Workers and within a few months had unionized several thousand, and several hundred whites.

The iron and steel union drew in 2000 men but kept them only a short time; it has since practically succumbed to company unionism in Birmingham's branch mills of the United States Steel Corporation.

More thousands joined Federal Labor Unions in iron and cement works. Organization spilled over into the white-collar classes, reaching bank clerks, construction foremen, and technical and clerical workers. One enterprising ex-preacher formed an association of several hundred farm hands, domestic servants, housewives, and unemployed people, getting them a state charter as the Forgotten Workers of America.

By the middle of last autumn, at least 35,000 new members had gone into trade unions in the Birmingham district and of these only about 10,000 were whites, all but a few thousand of them were meeting in the same halls with the whites.

Railroad Shops

A less vigorous but still active movement for organization could be instanced in the railway repair shops of the South. The white crafts which have long controlled the mechanic jobs show no sign of letting up on their policy of keeping colored out of membership and out of skilled work; on the contrary in the last few years they have strengthened their pressure to remove from good places those who were promoted as strikebreakers in the 1922 strike.

Colored helpers are numerous in the shops and common labor is mainly colored. Neither of these classes had had any worthwhile organization until recently; in negotiations with the management they were represented, in theory, by white union members, who might not give unprejudiced consideration to their grievances.

Railway Labor Act Helped

Since the passage of the 1933 amendment to the Railway Labor Act, however, definite steps have been taken to bring these workers into the field of solidarity. The union of stationary firemen and oilers has had its jurisdiction extended to cover both helpers and common laborers, and in many shops they have joined.

Representation is still indirect, the bargaining being done by all-white committees, and men have been hanging back partly on this account. Whatever growth there has been in their membership has coincided with a general substitution of straight A. F. of L. unionism for the company unions, which had been in the field in many shops since the 1922 strike.

Federal Unions Formed

Accompanying this activity in heavy industry and in railroad shops in the South, there has gone a general swelling-out of membership in the unions of longshoremen, quarrymen, building tradesmen, cooks and waiters, and building service men. Many new Federal Labor Unions, composed mainly or in part of colored men, have been formed, particularly in the South.

Typical groups entering these unions have been cement workers, laundry employees, lumbermen, food-packers, janitors, greenhouse workers, brickyard men, and miscellaneous railroad crafts.

In several Southern cities the organizations of colored and white unemployed have been active. At many points the few who work in the textile mills have also been brought into the unions.

North More Active

In the big Northern industrial plants the colored workers have organized in about the same proportion as the whites. In steel they joined readily, though usually little special effort was made to appeal to them, but their membership in the weak steel union has thus far availed them and the whites very little.

In slaughtering and meat-packing a real effort was made to bring them in, but the tradition of their encroachment in the industry is strong, and although many joined both they and the white workers were luke-warm, leaving little room for permanent unionism.

Considerable numbers of garment workers have been organized, and the Pullman porters have grown rapidly in strength. On many lines dining-car cooks and waiters are being unionized into a local which for the first time contains the white stewards. Building-service employees in some Northern cities are well organized.

Race Relations Benefit

From the point of view of improved race relationships it is from the mixed union, especially in the South, that most is to be expected. The power of employers to hold both races to low standards by playing off one group against the other is well understood; and both have found a new source of mutual knowledge in the determination to lessen that power—a determination in which all of the mixed unions have been formed.

The extreme degree of segregation in the South has made even acquaintance between working people of separate races a thing to be shunned. Mixed trade unionism, calling for confidence from each race that it will be assisted by the other in a common drive for advance, makes interracial acquaintance a necessity.

The movement proceeds within a cloud of prejudice; each race is cautious to give no offense to the South's fear of whatever is implied in the term "social equality." At meetings, colored and white members sit on different sides of the union halls, the chair in almost every case is occupied by a white officer, and for the general membership the relationship involved in the industrial movement ceases at the foot of the lodge staircase when the meeting is over.

Leaders Get Together

For the leadership of each group some further conference is required, and a good many respected whites have found their way to the front porches of workers' houses for the urging of this or that. It is this double network of understanding, generalized for the body of members but quite effective among the leaders, that gives rise to a hope that out of mixed unionism can come a lessening of intolerance and of interracial violence.

Colored persons as well as whites stand to gain from this broad improvement. Since in many unions the former are a majority or a powerful minority, this can and does exert a steady pressure for white recognition of their skill. They well know the effect of prejudice on promotion. "When it comes to getting skilled work, our faces are against us," is a common recognition of the prejudice. They pay dues at a high rate of sacrifice out of their low earnings and will inevitably slacken their

Until a few months ago Communist influence in Southern cities was almost entirely confined to the inside the standard unions has had some success. In defense of the Communists it must be said that they were early in the field, pointing out the advantages of common membership, and that their courage in the face of police persecution has had a good effect. When strikes occur and tempers are high a picket's gain concessions. And the whites in these areas recognize their own trouble of the former work can be aroused against the mixed trade unionism a violation of the Southern social pattern and which can be used by Communists threatens disorder. either stand aloof or actively op-

Some Disturbances Inevitable

The movement of course has its dangers. Many whites, especially those among the skilled groups, consider Communist agitation has been important, and that the prejudicing of the membership, and that their courage in the face of police persecution has had a good effect. When strikes occur and tempers are high a picket's gain concessions. And the whites in these areas recognize their own trouble of the former work can be aroused against the mixed trade unionism a violation of the Southern social pattern and which can be used by Communists threatens disorder. either stand aloof or actively op-

tion has had a stiffening influence on the whole movement.

Changes in race relationships will hardly come without incidental disturbances, but if gains are made they may very well outbalance the evils.

Special Federation Possible

Colored workers need all the bargaining machinery which whites require, and usually they will be best off in unions with whites. In addition they need defense from the effects of existing white prejudice.

Possibly they will build up some federation of trade unionists, working peacefully with the regular unions but pushing constantly for enlargement of their membership, for the opening of unions hitherto closed to them, and for the use of collective pressure in winning concessions from white workers as well as from employers.

White Collegians Are Weakest on Jury Service

Afro-American

Vote Is 42 to 17 in Favor of School, Job, and Ballot Equality.

6-15-35

JURY SERVICE VOTE IS DOWN TO 38-32

Baltimore Md

1 of 6 Professors Are for Social Equality.

By THOMAS L. DABNEY

ROANOKE, Va.—That there is a quiet revolution going on in the South in race relations is increasingly evident from bits of suppressed news which leak out occasionally.

A demonstration of the changing South was given us the other day when the All Southern (black and white) Conference for Civil and Trade Union Rights, being denied the privilege of meeting in the hall of the Odd Fellows or Pythians, assembled in a colored beer hall for their conference.

Ousted by Cops

Driven from this hall by twenty-five policemen, four detectives and some thirty-five Legionnaires, the delegates went to Monteagle and held their meeting. There they discussed plans for safeguarding the rights of minorities and colored folk and went on record as favoring equal protection for all races and groups in the South.

A similar progressive spirit is cropping up in Southern colleges. A professor of one of our Southern colleges, whose name I withhold, wrote me recently as follows:

Colleges Offer Best Field

"The student groups of the South offer the most fruitful field in which to work for better race relations. I teach equality of races and never have any serious trouble. All my better students take the idea readily. The possibilities thus are unlimited. If Warren (Congressman Lindsay C. Warren from North Carolina, who barred colored from the cafe of the House of Representatives) and others had ever studied such questions when students, you would have never heard of the Washington cafe episode.

"We've often taken students to colored colleges, etc., and eaten there. They do not think anything of it. I can recall nine of our students who have done that this session. Many more will before the session is out."

This professor conducts an excellent course in race relations in his college. He has invited a number of colored leaders to appear before his classes for lectures and on every occasion they were cordially received by the students. The professor gave two of his classes recently a list of questions to answer categorically by "yes" or "no." He writes the following statement about the quiz:

Inferior Ones Wrong

"Those voting **wrong** were our **inferior** students, usually. That held almost without exception. I had not directly discussed these topics with these classes. They were mostly freshmen, though the same proportion would run through all and faculty also. The majority of students are educable along these lines. They might and do come up with stereotyped ideas, but they are easily changed. The best way to change them is for the teachers to have a trained colored person talk to the class. A visit to a colored college is good.

"The North Carolina State Student Volunteer Union has been meeting together for several years. They eat together without any trouble. The South Carolina organization began the same this year. . . . I think students offer the most fruitful field for such work if you except the socialist movement. Students are largely influenced by faculty members, so both offer a greatly-neglected field.

Religion Easiest

"The easiest changed are those with a background of religion. When they have the right motivation, they change more readily. However, race relations have seldom come within the sphere of ethics or morals according to the usual run of man. The serious student sees the relationship when it is brought to his attention."

Georgia also has a State Student Volunteer Union. Last year the union met March 9-11, in cooperation with the Atlanta Intercollegiate Council, at which time approximately one-fifth of the 125 delegates were from colored colleges. The conference was held under ht eleadership of Mrs. Rose Aggery, of Livingstone College; Dr. W. A. Smart, Emory University; Willis J. King, president of Gammon Theological Seminary, and Kirby Page. During the conference delegates participated on a basis of friendly equality in all functions and services.

Professor Is Quizzed

The foregoing quotes came from a white professor in one of our leading white colleges. His own reaction to the race question is further revealed in his answers to several catagorical questions. He stated emphatically that he was opposed to lynching, and that the Costigan-Wagner anti-lynching bill or some other Federal measure should be passed to curb mob violence. He answered also that he didn't believe that colored peoples were inferior to white either physically, mentally, morally or spiritually.

Intermarriage

On the question of the principle of interracial marriage, this professor expressed the view that "the time is not yet ripe. It is not a question of inferiority or superiority, but prejudice between the two groups. It is too strong now for interracial marriages." Hence, he would object to a marriage between his daughter and a colored man, no matter how well-educated or cultured, because the public would not condone it. But race mixture would not "lead to a deterioration of the American stock" along any line, he asserted, because there is "no difference in races." There should be equal opportunity for colored and whites in politics, education, industry, and in Federal and State relief. The same per capita cost of instruction, he stated, should hold for both races in our public schools, and the white and colored teachers should receive the same pay when doing the same work and holding the same grade of certificates.

Progress Is Slow

Our race problem is being solved "slowly," this professor said. "If you don't believe it, go back in history. One of my students recently brought me a book read sixty years ago, and he thought the views of the author on the Negro were awful." Such "cheap politicians as Warren (Rep. Warren, N.C. Dem.)," he said, "are making the race problem more complicated." But socialism and Christianity are mighty forces toward the solution of the race problem.

The social status of colored people has more weight as a cause of race prejudice and racial outbreaks than color.

Professors 5 to 1 Against Intermarriage

A similar reaction was obtained from six other professors in four other Southern colleges in three other states. Not one believes the race inferior to the white man in any respect. Every one was against lynching, but two said the states and not the Federal government should outlaw mob rule. One was not opposed to interracial marriage although the "public is against it." He actually said he "would not oppose his daughter marrying a cultured colored man," provided they married and lived in the North. All expressed approval of equal opportunities for colored and whites in every phase of American life including schools, industry, politics, unemployed relief, wages, salaries, schooling and other benefits. Three of them like the first professor placed a question mark after bi-racialism as a means of solving the race problem, and all expressed the view that education is the chief means of solving it.

50-13 Against Lynching

The reaction of the students in one Southern college is particularly interesting. As already explained in the foregoing paragraphs most of the students given the quiz were freshmen. One or two were not consistent and some entered the class too late to consider all questions.

As to lynching thirteen said they favored it and fifty were opposed to it. Fifty-three said they favored a strict Federal and state law against mob rule while ten were opposed to such a law by either government. Fourteen said they believed the race "inherently inferior to the white man," but forty-one held no such belief.

42-17 Vote for Equality

Forty-two favored and seventeen opposed "equality of opportunity for Negroes in education, industry and politics." On the question of same appropriation for colored and white school children, fifty-two said "yes" and thirteen said "no." Forty-three said they favored same salary for white and colored teachers, and seventeen expressed disapproval of it. Again fifty-two favored permitting colored to vote on the same basis as white people, but thirteen expressed opposition to it.

Strange enough the opposition to naming colored to serve on juries was greater than the opposition to any other right which colored have been fighting for within the past five years. Thirty-eight voted for, thirty-two against. This is significant, too, for it resembles holding office and gives one an opportunity to pass judgment on the acts of others and condemn them for those acts. As already explained some of the students wanted to qualify their answers. Some of those who voted "no" on the proposition favored colored jurors for colored cases.

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United States.

Memphis, Tenn., Com'rcial Appeal
March 30, 1935

LECTURES TO NEGROES

Making a tour of the south in an effort to get negroes to remain on the farms, Rev. J. M. Williamson, president of the National Rural Industrial Associaitoin, Inc., will speak at the courthouse at Greenville, Miss., at 3 o'clock tomorrow afternoon.

Georgia's Right To Secede Is Defended by Tom Linder

Vigorous defense of his Market Bulletin utterances that the state of Georgia had a right to secede from the Union government is contained in a communication addressed by Tom Linder, state commissioner of agriculture, to J. L. Haralson, secretary of the Chamber of Commerce of Donalsonville, Seminole county, and furnished The Constitution.

In a series of questions and answers, Linder rushed to the defense of his contention and cited the fact that for the first time in the history of Georgia white voters were called upon to march to the polls side by side with negroes to vote in a democratic election on adoption of the Bankhead processing tax.

He also cited the Scottsboro case, holding that if carried to "its logical conclusion, a negro could not be convicted of an attack on a white woman except by negroes," and that means "racial equality."

"No southern white man could answer secession but one way under such circumstances," he asserted. He held that "no son or grandson of a Confederate veteran would hesitate to advocate secession under such conditions."

In addition, he cited the fertilizer code, striking at it as a move to swell the profits of a fertilizer trust "headed by the Chase National Bank of New York."

The processing tax on hogs, and the alleged payment by southern farmers of $6,000,000 in syrup processing taxes to Hawaii as their part of the cane tax.

He favored "secession" from the hog and cane processing taxes.

Letter From Haralson.

Haralson wrote Linder as follows:

"Many people here in southwest Georgia and especially S[illegible] country are loath to believe that you made the statement that you favored Georgia seceding from the Union or that you uttered words to that effect. Many of your friends join me in taking this method of asking you direct if such is true. Did you make that statement or a statement similar? If you did make such statement have you violated your oath of office? You swore that you would support the constitution of the state of Georgia and that of the United S[illegible] if you did or you morally or legally entitled to remain commissioner of agriculture of Georgia? Your friends in this section of the state are embarrassed and unless they are convinced otherwise they will no longer support you."

Questions and Answers.

In Mr. Haralson's letter to the commissioner he propounded a series of questions, requesting an answer on each. To this the commissioner replied with the statement that the entire document must be "used in full or not at all." It is given in full herewith.

The questions as propounded by Mr. Haralson, with the commissioner's reply to each, follows:

Q. When you made the suggestion in the Market Bulletin of April 25 that Georgia still had the right to secede, did you refer to the secession of Georgia from the Union or the secession of farmers from the policies of the New Deal?

A. If anyone will read my article entitled "Three Political Platforms in 1932—Which One Are We Following?"—I think it will be clear what I had reference to when I said, "We still have the right to secede."

In closing that article, I made reference to the fact that for the first time the white people of this state were called upon to march to the polls, side by side with the negroes, to vote in a democratic election on the Bankhead bill.

I further called attention to the decision of the supreme court in the Scottsboro case, requiring negroes to be put in the jury boxes, and I wound up by saying, "No question is ever settled until it is settled right. We still have the right to secede."

I think that clearly carries to the mind of any thinking person the idea that should conditions become extreme enough to demand it—for instance, should it come to the question of submitting to racial equality, we still have the right to secede.

I do not believe there is any courageous white man in Georgia who is the son, grandson, great-grandson of a Confederate soldier, who would resent this statement. I invited my critics to print the entire article in which it was used.

Q. Were you drawing an inference that the national administration is fostering a racial equality movement?

A. I am not inferring anything. I am merely recognizing the fact that the supreme court of the United States rendered an opinion, which says, in effect, that a negro cannot be convicted of a crime against a white woman unless negroes are in the jury box to try him. Under the same line of reasoning, it would be necessary to have a negro judge to try the case. It would be necessary to have negroes on the appelate courts to review the trial in the lower court. In fact, following the line of reasoning to its logical conclusion a negro could not be convicted except by negroes.

I am merely recognizing the edict from the White House that no person was to be debarred from voting on the Bankhead bill on account of his race or color, which was another way of saying that negroes must be permitted to vote on the Bankhead law. I am not shutting my eyes to the fact that a negro has been appointed an assistant attorney-general by the president. I am merely recognizing the fact that President Roosevelt, two weeks ago, appointed a black negro from North Carolina, named Armond Scott, as judge of the municipal court of the District of Columbia.

Q. If it came to show-down in racial equality would you head a movement for secession in the south?

A. That question answers itself. No southern white man could answer it but one way.

Q. Are you encouraging the farmers to secede from the New Deal?

A. Under the NRA, there was formed what was called a fertilizer code. This was nothing more or less than the old guano trust come back with government backing.

Under this code, a price was set to the farmers on fertilizer unreasonably high, to swell the profits in the pockets of the international fertilizer trust headed by the Chase National bank, of New York.

The farmers of Georgia stuck together sufficiently for us to break that trust and thereby secede from that code and trust. The processing tax in hogs collects numerous sums out of the hog growers of Georgia. I, myself, paid $53.44 for the privilege of killing my own hogs on my own farm and selling a part of the meat. Every cent of this money goes to the farmers of the west. I advocate secession from this processing tax.

There is a processing tax on every gallon of syrup made in Georgia. Ask the farmers who have made syrup, and especially those who made syrup for their money crop, what kind of prices they received for syrup last winter.

I notice in the paper today where the sugar trust of Hawaii received a check from Washington for $6,000,000 for their part of this tax of the cane and syrup-raising farmers of the south.

I think we ought to secede from Hawaii and quit paying it $6,000,000 of our money.

Segregation White Man's Burden, But Negro Carries Load

Kelly Miller Analyzes Statement of Dr. Stolberg Who Uses "Fine Words Inspired by Noble Purpose."

By KELLY MILLER

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 23.—Dr. Benjamin Stolberg in a striking contribution to "The Nation" of May 15th, boldly declares "our first duty is to fight for the complete economic, social and spiritual de-segregation of the American Negro." These are fine words inspired by a noble purpose. Dr. Stolberg is a Jew and belongs to a minority group whose circumscription is somewhat similar, though infinitely less galling, than that of the Negro. He indulges in the counsel of perfection with no means of putting his counsel into effect. He might as well advise the Germans that their first duty is to de-segregate the Jew. This counsel would but make the "Hitlerites" laugh.

From the beginning of the segregation movement until now, the Negro has been the helpless victim with little more resistive power than the Jew had against the Grotto in former days. The dominant white group, consciously or unconsciously, came to the mind that segregation should be the policy of dealing with the Negro in matters of social or semi-social relationship. This attitude is all but universal with but a few daring individual exceptions.

The Negro is merely the recipient with little or no power to determine or resist the nature of the treatment which he is to receive. In this respect he is befitted precisely as the Jew in Germany under the imperial decree of Hitler. All Negroes want de-segregation as described by Stolberg, but are painfully conscious of their feeble resistive capacity against the behest of Nordic prejudice. Some Negroes of the more cautious or conservative temperament, have sought to make a virtual necessity and have advocated the acceptance of segregation as the only practical method of racial adjustment under the prevailing circumstances. This is but a modern instance of the fox denouncing the too high-hanging grapes as sour. If the race must needs worship in separate churches, why not regard such churches as the ideal place to develop and practice the beauty of holiness? Theoretically, the Negro has denounced segregation from its incipiency with a bitter, though impotent, denounciation. The late William Monroe Trotter, the uncompromising champion of Negro equality, nailed to his mast the moto, "Segregation for Colored is the Real Permanent Damning Degredation in the U. S. A.—Fight It." He lived, and died under the inspiration of this standard. The N. A. A. C. P., for a number of years devoted its chief energies against segregation and won a signal victory in the Supreme Court of the United States. Flushed with this legal victory, and with an optimism born of zeal rather than dispassionate understanding, this militant organization declared that if given two million dollars it would destroy segregation completely. Possessing what I regarded as a clearer understanding of the deep-seated forces which lay behind segregation, I, at the time, declared that this objective could not be accomplished with ten million or even a hundred million dollars. My judgment proved to be wise as revealed by subsequent events. All of the commendable efforts put forth haven't made a single dent in the side of segregation. The N. A. A. C. P., has desisted from its dramatic opposition and turned its energies into combatting other forms of race prejudice. Dr. W. E. B. DuBois who did more than any other single agency in creating the spirit upon which the N. A. A. C. P. was founded, has at last convinced himself of the hopelessness of the fight and now would sensibly utilize segregation since he finds he cannot destroy it. After forty years of strenuous endeavor he has given up the quest for the absolute and now seeks more immediate and practical aim. But neither The N. A. A. C. P. nor Dr. DuBois, nor myself, nor even the Negroes of more

timid temperament can ever surrender to segregation in its principle. The lambs segregate themselves from the wolves by a cautionary and salutary instinct.

The Communist, as a militant but impotent minority, are dramatizing the evils of segregation in order to win the Negro to their support. But if by any bad chance this radical minority should find itself in a controlling position, what assurance is there that it would or could assuage the rancor of race prejudice?

All honors go to Dr. Stolberg for his noble declaration as to de-segregation of the Negro. This appeal, however, if it is to be of any effectiveness whatever, must be directed to the white race which is in the controlling position. The Negro hears these things gladly but powerlessly. It is ideally self-evident that if Democracy is ever to come to the fulfillment of its high pretentions, every vestige of segregation on account of creed, color or race must be done away with. When this nation with or without law, segregates the Negro it belies the fundamental principle of Democracy. But this is the white man's burden, albeit, the Negro bears the heaviest brunt.

Mr. Stolberg advises the American people that unless they de-segregate the Negro he will become a counter-revolutionary force in the class struggle with which America is threatened. Herein Mr. Stolberg gives away the secret of the Communist, who is so solicitious of the Negro's welfare.

Kelly Miller.

A LONELY SENTINEL

In answering a set of questions based on his recent fulminations about secession, in the Market Bulletin, Commissioner of Agriculture Linder puts himself deeper in the hole than ever.

The questions, propounded by J. L. Haralson, secretary of the Donalsonville and Seminole Chamber of Commerce, and Mr. Linder's answers to them, appear in full in the news columns of this issue.

Mr. Linder still bitterly protests that "for the first time" negroes and whites voted together in the election on the Bankhead bill. Surely, the commissioner knows better than that. Negroes have been voting in every regular election held in the south for more than a half century.

Large numbers cast votes in the repeal referendum of this week, their participation in support of the existing dry laws being practically unanimous as urged by leading negro ministers—but the commissioner continues his attack on the administration on the ground that it is responsible for voting by negroes.

The negro farmer, both as land owner and tenant, plays a large part in southern agriculture and it was proper for him, both as a farmer and a citizen, to participate in the referendum on the Bankhead bill. Not only were his own interests at stake, but those of his white neighbors as well.

Mr. Linder continues to wave the secession banner on the ground that the supreme court "rendered an opinion which says, in effect, that a negro cannot be convicted of a crime against a white woman unless negroes are in the jury box to try him."

The supreme court did nothing of the kind. What it ruled was that negroes cannot be excluded, because of their race, from the jury panels, which is an entirely different thing from holding that a negro cannot be tried unless a member of his race is on the trial jury.

The whole south has accepted the judgment of the court, but Mr. Linder, who, like "the boy who stood on the burning deck from whence all but him had fled," remains as the lone sentinel of secession.

The state supreme courts of Alabama and Mississippi have instructed the jury commissioners of these two states that eligible negroes must be included in the jury panels or else all convictions will be voided in advance.

Any Georgia schoolboy could tell the commissioner that membership on a jury panel does not assure a place on a trial jury, since any prospective juror can be struck by either the state or the defense.

In justice to Mr. Linder, and in accordance with his request to Mr. Haralson, The Constitution publishes his statement "in full."

He is fortunate that it is no longer than it is, for the more he writes the deeper he becomes involved.

The Road to Citizenship

W. C. HUESTON, former magistrate and assistant solicitor-general of the Post Office Department, believes that an amendment to the federal constitution is necessary for the Negro to secure his full civil and political rights.

Speaking recently before a law club in Philadelphia, Judge Hueston held that the Thirteenth amendment simply abolished slavery, and that the Fourteenth amendment operated only to prevent the states, acting as such, from abridging the rights of Negroes. These amendments, he was careful to point out, in no way afforded any protection against individuals who act as sole persons or collectively. Hence, Mr. Hueston says, the Democratic party is within its legal rights when it excludes Negroes from participation in the primaries. Likewise, privately owned enterprises and conveyances may establish rules which bar the Negro from using their services, so far as the federal law is concerned.

In other words, what Judge Hueston wants is a federal civil rights law, one which will state the rights to which all citizens are entitled, and provide penalties for violations. He also proposes an amendment which will have for its object safeguarding the political rights of all citizens.

Many years ago Henry Cabot Lodge, then a representative, fought in Congress for an enabling act to enforce our "equality" amendments. Representative George H. Tinkham has worked for similar legislation.

Those who grow weary and think of progress in terms of months will pass up Mr. Hueston's proposal with something like, "Well, that would be nice."

There are 39 of the 48 states in which Negroes have full political rights. Thirty-six are required for an amendment. The task is not impossible. It is one which must be accomplished if we are to achieve the status of more than subjects.

A national Negro congress, linking all elements of thought in Negro leadership, could do the job with the assistance of the millions of fair-minded whites in these thirty-nine states. We like the idea and we pledge our **full co-operation** to any responsible movement which has Judge Hueston's proposals for its objective.

NORFOLK, VA.
LEDGER DISPATCH

MAR 12 1934

False Prophets to the Negroes

If our Negroes listen to the rabble-rousing diatribes of such men as that representative of the International Labor Defense who spoke to them Sunday of "an innocent man who was framed by police and court," they will go counter to the earnest advice of their own sound and sane leaders. These leaders—such men as P. B. Young, Eugene Diggs, Winston Douglas, the Reverend B. W. Harris, the Reverend Richard W. Bowling and others—know that these false leaders are potentially as harmful to such men as listen to them as were those other false leaders who misled those unfortunates into striking at the Merchants and Miners docks a year or so ago.

If those who did listen to the spellbinder sent down from New York to excite them realized the utter recklessness and wildness with which that sort of person pours out words, they would turn on this type of false prophet and—well, men who find out they have been deliberately misguided are not careful in their method of dealing with those who misguided them. The particularly noisy agitator who talked at the meeting of Sunday afternoon would have been ridiculous if he had not been dangerous. He bellowed out, among other things, a statement that Sherman's march across Georgia was due to "the 200,000 black soldiers in his army. They brought victory to the Union forces." Sherman's whole army in his "March to the Sea" numbered less than 70,000!

It does not behoove the law or officers of the law to prevent such inflammatory utterances as those shouted into the ears of some of our colored people Sunday. It does behoove our colored people to disregard that sort of vicious twaddle—for their own sakes.

Race Problem-1935.

United States.

Richmond, Va., Times-Dispatch
May 8, 1935

'Right to Secede' Reaffirmed Over 'Race Equality' in Georgia

ATLANTA, May 7—(AP)—Striking out against racial equality, Thomas M. Linder, Georgia commissioner of agriculture, today reiterated "We still have the right to secede" if it comes to the question of "submitting to racial equality."

It was Linder, who recently offered secession of Georgia from the Union as a possible method of ultimately settling differences between officials of this State and the National Administration in an article.

Asked today to elaborate, Linder said:

"I made reference to the fact that for the first time the white people of this State were called upon to march to the polls, side by side with the Negroes, to vote in the Democratic election on the Bankhead bill.

"I further called attention to the decision of the Supreme Court in the Scottsboro case, requiring Negroes to be put in the jury boxes, and I wound up by saying, 'No question is ever settled until it is settled right. We still have the right to secede.'

"I think that clearly carries to the mind of any thinking person the idea that should conditions become extreme enough to demand it—for instance, should it come to the question of submitting to racial equality—we still have the right to secede."

Danbie, La. Record
May 8, 1935

"Keep In Touch With Governor," Senator Advises Negro

It is easy to make promises, but there are also many ways to get around their fulfillment. "Share the Wealth" has been worked to a finish in some sections of Central Louisiana, including the vicinity of Lecompte. One Thomas Clark, colored, of Lecompte, imbued with the spirit of getting a white collar job, especially after having been tutored to believing that the time had come for him to take an active part in "saving this country", writes the Senator a letter asking for a job. We quote below the leter received by Clark from the Senator. The letter speaks for itself. It shows conclusively how the wool is being pulled over the eyes of these poor, ignorant people, who are contributing to this giant scheme, but who WILL NEVER DERIVE ANY BENEFITS therefrom. We want every negro minister in this section to get a copy of this paper and read it to their congregations. We want them to impress upon their people the fallacy of contributing their hard earned dollars toward a project out of which they may never receive any reward.

The surprising part about this whole thing is that a United States Senator would speak in such terms about the government which he is supposed to represent, and the President he is supposed to glorify. Just what more proof is needed to convince the people of this State that Louisiana is headed for Communism or something worse, than this letter, is more than we can comprehend. Thousands of negro followers actually believe that THEIR TIME is coming in Louisiana, just like their grandfathers were lead to believe by carpet baggers of another day that they would assume control of this State. Poor misguided fools. They will meet with similar fate unless this foolishness is stopped, and STOPPED SOON. The letter follows:

Hon. Thomas Clark,
Lecompte, La.
My dear Friend:

Acknowledgement is made of your letter seeking employment with the State of Louisiana.

Because of my many governmental activities and efforts to put the burden of taxation on the millionaires, rather than on the little man, I have not been in close touch with the matter of employment under the State administration as I might otherwise be. This has been left entirely to the Governor and heads of the various departments, while I have been carrying on a vigorous fight in Washington to provide old age pensions and compel a redistribution of wealth, so as to make possible the employment of every man and woman needing work. Although my fight up here has not yet been won, I an continuing my efforts in that direction.

If the Roosevelt administration had kept pace with the officials of Louisiana in providing employment in gainful occupations, there would not be so much poverty in the country today. The Roosevelt forces have been too busy playing politics to give much thought to the little fellow.

I understand the state administration in Louisiana is doing all they can to give employment to as many as possible, but there is a limit to how many can be taken care of.

I would suggest you keep in touch with the Governor at Baton Rouge or the head of the department in which you are particularly interested, and the administration's leader in your parish.

Yours sincerely,

HUEY P. LONG
U. S. Senator.

HPL-Cl

Tarrant, Ala., Sentinel
May 7, 1935

Negroizing Public Service

Senator Jim Simpson's so-called civil service bill is a plain and palpable attempt to give Victor Hanson control of Jefferson County and to negroize our public service.

Mr. Hanson's papers have recently conducted a campaign for a pardon of the Scottsboro negroes. Editorials in the Birmingham News-Age Herald have heavily supported Mr. Lebowitz's idea that these "respecters of women" should receive executive clemency.

Following this outburst of admiration for the Scottsboro boys, the columns of Hanson's papers gave futher evidence of affection for the colored brother in a column entitled "What Negroes Are Doing" where various and sundry negroes are referred to weekly as "Mr. and Mrs." so and so, Professor, Honorable, Reverend" and so on in accounts of the elite of niggerdom.

This policy of "socially messaging" the negro culminated in the civil service law. Senator Simpson is Victor Hanson's lawyer. Victor Hanson's papers are heavily supporting if not actually demanding the civil service law. As originally drawn the bill actually contained a provision that one of the negro schools of Birmingham should elect a member of the "citizens supervisory commission" that is supposed to elect the civil service board that appoints the "personel director" who does the dirty work.

JOBS IN THE COURT HOUSE AND THE CITY HALL ARE NOW BARRED TO NEGROES. THE ONLY WAY A NEGRO CAN GET A JOB IN THE COURT HOUSE OR CITY HALL IS TO HAVE A CIVIL SERVICE LAW THAT WILL GET HIM ON.

The civil service law provides the negro with the only vehicle that will take him from the alley and give him a seat at a desk in the city hall or the court house by the side of some white girl. The civil service law will take the senegambian out of the wood pile and open every appointive job in the county to him. It will negroize the public service.

The Supreme Court of the United States decided in the Scottsboro cases that the fact that there were no negroes names in the jury box proved that the negro was discriminated against for jury service.

As now drawn, as soon as the negro Miles Memorial School has a larger number of bona fide resident students than either Howard or Southern College, then the president of the negro school will supplant the President of one of the white institutions on the supervisory

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It would undoubtedly hold, under a civil service law, that the fact that no negroes were employed under it, would be proof that the negro was discriminated against under civil service, and the Federal Court would give grades and ratings and order their employment.

As long as elective officers are given the right to hire and fire their employees no court can interfere, because if the officers are to be held responsible for the acts of their agents, they must have entire freedom in selecting them.

Civil service would change all that. Where a civil service law, instead of an elected officer controlled the hiring and firing, the equality clause of the Federal Constitution requires that negroes and whites be treated EQUALLY.

One has but to read the proposed bill to see that if it becomes a law, Victor Hanson will control the civil service board, the personal director and through them the county and city. While there's provision for the election of a supervisory commission to elect a civil service board, the law expressly provides THAT IF THIS PROVISION IS UNCONSTITUTIONAL THE BOARD IS APPOINTED BY THE SENATOR FROM JEFFERSON, MR. HANSON'S LAWYER, SENATOR SIMPSON. Every body knows the attempt to delegate the appointive power to some civic and political organizations, so we should just as well say the civil service board will be appointed by Victor Hanson through his lawyer, Jim Simpson.

The people of Jefferson County do not want the public service in Jefferson County negroized and Hansonized or even Simpsonized. Civil service has no legitimate place anywhere in Alabama.

MAR 4 1935
CHARLOTTE, N. C.
OBSERVER

THE PLACE OF THE NEGRO.

The proper place for the American negro in the present economic emergency is on the farm, writes KELLY MILLER in OPPORTUNITY, the journal of negro life, and he has some advice to offer and observations to make in this connection that are altogether apropos.

Two-fifths of the population of negroes in America, he recites, are now in the cities and subject to the necessitous conditions that have developed in connection with urban living with all races.

MILLER does not contend that the negroes who are in the industrial centers should be bodily picked up and re-established on the farms where they are not needed for marketing productions on any such scale as this, but rather he insists that the trek toward the cities should halt and that during the present crisis the place of the farm-negro is where he is now located and with the job of farming that now engages him.

The argument which the writer advances is impressive.

Calling attention to the circumstance that there are many more workers in industry than agriculture, he develops the thought that the white worker leaves the farm for more remunerative and attractive employment, but when the negro workman quits the farm he has no such assurance. The farm is still his best chance. On the farm the races are essentially on a parity, mother earth yields as readily and as abundantly to the persuasion of the black as of the white tiller.

The markets are wholly without race prejudice, the black producer receives as much for his produce as his white competitor. But when the two leave the farm and go to the city the white man gains a tremendous advantage by the change while the negro is more likely to lose. For example, of two farm hands, one white and the other black, the former might receive a few dollars a month more than his black co-worker but when the two transfer to the city, the white worker can easily secure a position paying him two or three times as much as his former black fellow laborer. The negro, therefore, says MILLER, need not be so much influenced by the example of the whites who are leaving the farm and going to the cities. The fact that the whites are abandoning the farms gives the negro his chief opportunity.

"Any underprivileged class, proscribed against like the negro, must necessarily over-work and under-live the more arrogant majority. The Jew, through the ages, has found this to be the case during his long struggle against racial prejudice. What others resign, he should value. He should take up the farm where the white man leaves it off. His lot will be a relatively hard one, but the negro might expect to do hard things."

There is good sense in all of this and friendly advice to the negro race which, if followed, would be vastly beneficial to these people.

N. C. BISHOP HOPES TO END NEGRO PROBLEM

Says Episcopal Diocese Has Eliminated All Distinction

5-18-35

WILSON, N. C.—A hope that there be no more talk of a Negro problem was the theme of the address delivered by the Rt. Rev. Edwin A. Penick, Episcopal bishop of North Carolina, at the Convention of the Diocese of North Carolina held in St. Timothy's Church here May 7-8.

"For many years," the speaker stated, "the Negro in North Carolina has been a member of the Diocesan Convention, with all its rights and privileges.

Member of Council

"He is a member of the Executive Council, not a representative of his race but as a representative of this Diocese, elected by this Convention. He serves on the Diocesan Departments. He belongs to the Diocesan Laymen's League. The Negro members of the Woman's Auxiliary have their own District organization, the Chairman of which, belongs to the Executive Council of that body. In other words, the North Carolina Negro Churchman is a constituent part of our Diocesan life and participates, on an equal footing, with others in legislative and administrative affairs."

"Within the past year, our Executive Council has eliminated the distinction between white and Negro work and has combined the parishes and missions of both races under the one designation, "Dioceasn Missions."

"I hope that we are through talking about the Negro Problem. So long as we refer to the Negro as problematical, he will regard himself as such. So long as we assume that he is a dependent creature, just so long will he behave as such and hold out his hand for help.

"The thoughtless, amiable white man has not been the friend to the Negro that he imagined. With a whimsical affection, he has deprived the Negro of self-reliance. The individual has done this. The Church has done this. As time goes by, and our inherited traditional southern attitudes lose more of the distortion of prejudice, we find ourselfes inclined to accept as fact what we have long admitted in theory, that the Church is one and catholic and worships one God who is no respester of persons.

"The Diocese has tried the Suffragan plan of Episcopal supervision with doubtful success despite the saintly character of the only encumbent of this office, Bishop Delany. The General Convention has discussed the Racial Missionary Episcopates without agreement as to the wisdom of this experiment. The defect in both of these proposals, it seems to me, is in the unconscious—I will not say deliberate—effort to give an exceptional character to a component part of our corporate Church life.

Time Now At Hand

"The time is at hand when we should stop making both white and colored people racially self-conscious by setting up differences within the family of God's children, a family where the white work is considered the normal function of the Church, and the Negro work as a kind of appendix that threatens to weaken the health of the body. What then is the policy of our Diocese towards the Negro? It is to regard him and to treat him in that spirit of comprehensiveness which has always been the genius of the Holy Catholic Church, wherein there is neither Jew nor Greek, male or female, bond or free.

"To this attitude we expect the Negro for his part to respond. He has his contribution to make to the welfare of the body of Christ. Let him make his contribution with pride and self respect and accordingly to his natural genius and racial talents. The Church will be richer for his free, spontaneous expression of these unique and native gifts.

"There is nothing novel about such a policy in North Carolina. It is as old as the universal Christian Church. The only novel feature about it is that we are putting into practice what we have long professed with our lips. With this confidence in our Negro brethren, we look to them to pull their own weight in the boat, not as wards of the Church, not as problem children in the family, but as self-supporting members of Christ's Church, and self-respecting citizens of the kingdom of God."

Race Problems 1935
United States.

Orlando, Fla., Sentinel
February 15, 1935

RACE EQUALITY PLOT CHARGED

New Deal Agencies Attacked

By United Press

ATLANTA, Feb. 14—(U.P.)—Rep. Ellis Arnall, speaker pro-tem, charged in the Georgia house today that racial equality was being taught by federal new deal agencies in Georgia.

He produced purported copies of telegrams from heads of departments of federal agencies in Georgia, to persons in the north offering them jobs on federal agencies in the state.

Arnall alleged that Arthur Flynn, federal state transient director, and his executive secretary, Mary H. Newell, have demanded that all colored employes be addressed as mister, miss and mrs., and that they be received in conferences with no segregation.

FOREIGNERS LINKED

He further alleged that racial equality was being taught by a group of people with names "that smack of Russian and German origin."

Several days ago Arnall introduced a resolution requesting the Georgia delegation in congress to learn why jobs with federal agencies in Georgia were not given to native Georgians. He quoted a letter from U. S. Sen. Walter F. George, of Georgia, reading:

"Too many outsiders have been transferred into Georgia. The regional Home Owners Loan Corp. and other federal agencies have not been fair to our people."

PATRONAGE TRACED

Arnall charged that an organization in Cleveland, Ohio, called the Social Workers of America, have charge of patronage in giving out federal agencies jobs in Georgia worth more than $100 a month.

The charges were made as the house inquired about the senate not concurring in a house resolution providing for a legislative committee to go to Washington to study relief legislation necessary for Georgia to comply with the federal program. The senate concurred in the resolution today.

GEORGIA LEGISLATORS TO STUDY RELIEF

ATLANTA, Feb. 14—(U.P.)—The legislature took another step today in cooperating with the federal government on relief legislation when the senate concurred in a house resolution providing for a legislative committee to go to Washington to study relief laws.

The resolution provides a committee of two senators and three representatives to go to the national capitol to study relief legislation and to learn what measures the Georgia legislature must pass in order to comply with the federal program.

Pres. Redwine, of the senate, appointed Sens. Fred Scott of Thomasville, and William L. Lister, of Augusta, as the senators to serve on the committee.

Sen. W. W. Larsen, jr., of Dublin, introduced a bill setting up machinery for election of a lieutenant governor for the next term. A house measure proposes a constitutional amendment creating the office of lieutenant governor. Citizens will vote on this amendment in 1936, and Larsen's bill provides for election of a lieutenant governor the same year if the amendment is adopted.

Race Aroused Over Radio Use Of Word 'Nigger' By Huey Long

Courier 3-16-35
Pittsburgh Pa.

Senator Huey P. Long, whose 'share-the-wealth" idea is hoped by him to sweep him into the White House, will never get there, if 13,000,000 Negroes have their way.

The wind-bagging Senator from Louisiana, who has been the spark-plug in the Senate for several administrations, and has been accused of setting up an autocracy in the Dixie State, insulted the entire Negro race over the radio once again Thursday night, when he used the word "nigger—ah—colored people."

His "fighting insult" was delivered during an address in answer to charges made against him by General Hugh S. Johnson, former NRA head.

Commenting in The Pittsburgh Press Saturday evening, Heywood Broun, noted columnist, said that Huey's use of the word will cost him at least 300,000 votes, and possibly more.

Rev. R. H. Bumry, prominent Methodist ecclesiastic of Homestead, has written a vitriolic letter to the Senator, which appears on Page 2, Second section.

HUEY LONG'S EPITHETS PROTESTED

Journal
3-16-35
Washington Letter

Omega Fraternity Sends Letters to Senator and NBC

A wave of protest against an insulting epithet used by Senator Huey P. Long (Louisiana) in a speech broadcasted over Station WMAL and sent out over a nation-wide hook-up last Thursday night swept the Senator's offices and the National Broadcasting Company headquarters in New York, early this week.

The local Alpha Chapter, of the Omega Psi Phi Fraternity, in a letter to the broadcasting company, sought a definite answer as to the policy of the company after an official of the local station, WMAL advised them that Senator Long as a Congressman had privileges and that the company was without power to censure his address.

Senator Long, speaking on his "share our wealth" program, used the insulting epithet on two distinct occasions. In another letter to the Senator, the Omega Fraternity said:

"While the Negroes of this country would certainly like to share the wealth, to which they have contributed no small part, Alpha Chapter, of the Omega Psi Phi Fraternity, is of the opinion that your support to that end is unappreciated and not wanted unless your appeal can be made by a fair presentation of our actual conditions, based upon facts, discolored, and free from any epithet that is insulting, and no one is the judge of whether the Negro race is insulted but that race itself.

"We are of the opinion that if it is your desire to poll a large number of Negro votes in your campaign for Presidency or any other public office for which we are looked to for support, you would be more successful if you would advocate, in addition to your "Share-our-Wealth" program, a program of abolition of racial insults, abolition of lynching, such as was committed in your State last week, and the abolition of all forms of discrimination because of race.

"Having advised you that we have been insulted by the epithet used by you in your address last Thursday night, you will, if you have the ingredients that an American President should possess, or that a public servant should possess, apologize to us in the same manner in which we were insulted."

Refuses to Censure

The word was used by the Senator in reference to a Negro in Louisiana, whom he said had written to him for help. The letter to the National Broadcasting Company said in part:

"Immediately upon the utterance of this vile epithet, a representative of this organization telephoned to Mr. Fred Shawn, assistant manager of WRO, who advised us that any statement made by a United States Senator, whether on the floors of Congress or over the radio, is privileged, and that the National Broadcasting Company was without power to censure their addresses.

Speech Libelous

"This fraternity has investigated the statement of Mr. Shawn and has been authoritatively advised that statements made by members of Congress are privileged only as they are uttered from the floors of Congress, and that slanderous remarks over a radio makes the person making the remarks, as well as the Radio Station over which the statements are made, liable in an action for slander.

"We were not surprised at the statements made by the Senator from Louisiana, because we happen to know something of his background and history, but we were surprised that your station and network would permit such insulting remarks to go un-censured. Above all we were surprised when told that there was nothing the National Broadcasting Company could do about it."

Both letters were signed by Arthur Jackson, Basileus, and C. Waldo Scott, Keeper of Records and Seals.

The Omega Psi Phi Fraternity has sponsored several programs over the National Broadcasting Company hook-up. Its organization is composed of over 3,000 members.

Citizen Protests

Another protest was voiced by Walter Dyson. Mr. Dyson, in a letter to Senator Long, said:

"Officers of WMAL can ill afford to lend their facilities to you to insult citizens who, notwithstanding the attractions of your 'share the wealth' scheme, prefer poverty to insult."

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New Deal Agencies Attacked

By United Press

ATLANTA, Feb. 14—(U.P.)—Rep. Ellis Arnall, speaker pro-tem, charged in the Georgia house today that racial equality was being taught by federal new deal agencies in Georgia.

He produced purported copies of telegrams from heads of departments of federal agencies in Georgia, to persons in the north offering them jobs on federal agencies in the state.

Arnall alleged that Arthur Flynn, federal state transient director, and his executive secretary, Mary H. Newell, have demanded that all colored employes be addressed as mister, miss and mrs., and that they be received in conferences with no segregation.

FOREIGNERS LINKED

He further alleged that racial equality was being taught by a group of people with names "that smack of Russian and German origin."

Several days ago Arnall introduced a resolution requesting the Georgia delegation in congress to learn why jobs with federal agencies in Georgia were not given to native Georgians. He quoted a letter from U. S. Sen. Walter F. George, of Georgia, reading:

"Too many outsiders have been transferred into Georgia. The regional Home Owners Loan Corp. and other federal agencies have not been fair to our people."

PATRONAGE TRACED

Arnall charged that an organization in Cleveland, Ohio, called the Social Workers of America, have charge of patronage in giving out federal agencies jobs in Georgia worth more than $100 a month.

The charges were made as the house inquired about the senate not concurring in a house resolution providing for a legislative committee to go to Washington to study relief legislation necessary for Georgia to comply with the federal program. The senate concurred in the resolution today.

GEORGIA LEGISLATORS TO STUDY RELIEF

ATLANTA, Feb. 14—(U.P.)—The legislature took another step today in cooperating with the federal government on relief legislation when the senate concurred in a house resolution providing for a legislative committee to go to Washington to study relief laws.

The resolution provides a committee of two senators and three representatives to go to the national capitol to study relief legislation and to learn what measures the Georgia legislature must pass in order to comply with the federal program.

Pres. Redwine, of the senate, appointed Sens. Fred Scott of Thomasville, and William I. Lister, of Augusta, as the senators to serve on the committee.

Sen. W. W. Larsen, jr., of Dublin, introduced a bill setting up machinery for election of a lieutenant governor for the next term. A house measure proposes a constitutional amendment creating the office of lieutenant governor. Citizens will vote on this amendment in 1936, and Larsen's bill provides for election of a lieutenant governor the same year if the amendment is adopted.

Race Aroused Over Radio Use Of Word 'Nigger' By Huey Long

Senator Huey P. Long, whose 'share-the-wealth" idea is hoped by him to sweep him into the White House, will never get there, if 13,000,000 Negroes have their way.

The wind-bagging Senator from Louisiana, who has been the spark-plug in the Senate for several administrations, and has been accused of setting up an autocracy in the Dixie State, insulted the entire Negro race over the radio once again Thursday night, when he used the word "nigger—ah—colored people."

His "fighting insult" was delivered during an address in answer to charges made against him by General Hugh S. Johnson, former NRA head.

Commenting in The Pittsburgh Press Saturday evening, Heywood Broun, noted columnist, said that Huey's use of the word will cost him at least 300,000 votes, and possibly more.

Rev. R. H. Bumry, prominent Methodist ecclesiastic of Homestead, has written a vitriolic letter to the Senator, which appears on Page 2, Second section.

HUEY LONG'S EPITHETS PROTESTED

Omega Fraternity Sends Letters to Senator and NBC

A wave of protest against an insulting epithet used by Senator Huey P. Long (Louisiana), in a speech broadcasted over Station WMAL and sent out over a nation-wide hook-up last Thursday night swept the Senator's offices and the National Broadcasting Company headquarters in New York, early this week.

The local Alpha Chapter, of the Omega Psi Phi Fraternity, in a letter to the broadcasting company, sought a definite answer as to the policy of the company after an official of the local station, WMAL advised them that Senator Long as a Congressman had privileges and that the company was without power to censure his address.

Senator Long, speaking on his "share our wealth" program, used the insulting epithet on two distinct occasions. In another letter to the Senator, the Omega Fraternity said:

"While the Negroes of this country would certainly like to share the wealth, to which they have contributed no small part, Alpha Chapter, of the Omega Psi Phi Fraternity, is of the opinion that your support to that end is unappreciated and not wanted unless your appeal can be made by a fair presentation of our actual conditions, based upon facts, discolored, and free from any epithet that is insulting, and no one is the judge of whether the Negro race is insulted but that race itself.

"We are of the opinion that if it is your desire to poll a large number of Negro votes in your campaign for Presidency or any other public office for which we are looked to for support, you would be more successful if you would advocate, in addition to your "Share-our-Wealth" program, a program of abolition of racial insults, abolition of lynching, such as was committed in your State last week, and the abolition of all forms of discrimination because of race.

"Having advised you that we have been insulted by the epithet used by you in your address last Thursday night, you will, if you have the ingredients that an American President should possess, or that a public servant should possess, apologize to us in the same manner in which we were insulted."

Refuses to Censure

The word was used by the Senator in reference to a Negro in Louisiana, whom he said had written to him for help. The letter to the National Broadcasting Company said in part:

"Immediately upon the utterance of this vile epithet, a representative of this organization telephoned to Mr. Fred Shawn, assistant manager of WRO, who advised us that any statement made by a United States Senator, whether on the floors of Congress or over the radio, is privileged, and that the National Broadcasting Company was without power to censure their addresses.

Speech Libelous

"This fraternity has investigated the statement of Mr. Shawn and has been authoritatively advised that statements made by members of Congress are privileged only as they are uttered from the floors of Congress, and that slanderous remarks over a radio makes the person making the remarks, as well as the Radio Station over which the statements are made, liable in an action for slander.

"We were not surprised at the statements made by the Senator from Louisiana, because we happen to know something of his background and history, but we were surprised that your station and network would permit such insulting remarks to go un-censured. Above all we were surprised when told that there was nothing the National Broadcasting Company could do about it."

Both letters were signed by Arthur Jackson, Basileus, and C. Waldo Scott, Keeper of Records and Seals.

The Omega Psi Phi Fraternity has sponsored several programs over the National Broadcasting Company hook-up. Its organization is composed of over 3,000 members.

Citizen Protests

Another protest was voiced by Walter Dyson. Mr. Dyson, in a letter to Senator Long, said: "Officers of WMAL can ill afford to lend their facilities to you to insult citizens who, notwithstanding the attractions of your 'share the wealth' scheme, prefer poverty to insult."

"KINGFISH" "CUTS A HOG."

The day following his "distributor of wealth" radio talk Senator Huey Long of Louisiana is reported to have said to a Northern Senator: "By God, I'll filibuster to next Christmas Eve to kill that bill," meaning the Wagner-Costigan anti-lynching measure. Whereupon the lawyer tartly replied:

> And when you are filibustering, Huey, you can use up some of your time answering the questions I intend to ask you about your intentions of including colored citizens in your share-the-wealth program. I heard you use the word "nigger" twice on the radio last night and I don't think you picked up any votes in Harlem or colored centers north of the Mason and Dixon Line where the colored citizens can vote.

In the language of the street, the Senator from the North told the Senator from the South "a mouthful." Not only did Senator Long alienate thousands of potential supporters of his fanciful scheme to distribute the wealth of the nation more evenly, but colored admirers who have been advocating his economic philosophy have lost some of their enthusiasm and admiration for him since the predilection he displayed for saying "nigger."

The New York Age has referred in complimentary fashion to Senator Long's policy of refraining from injecting the Negro as an issue in controversial political issues. Negro baiting is usually the stock in trade of those classed as demagogues in the South. Judging from the Louisiana solon's verbal radio dissertation, while he believes every man should be a king, he also believes every colored American should be called a "nigger." The undignified and vulgar spectacle of an occupant of the White House insulting one-tenth of the country's population in such a manner is not pleasant to contemplate.

For some time The New York Age has vigorously and consistently protested against the use of the terms "nigger," "coon" and "darky" over the air waves. Whether the guilty person is a United States Senator, a comedian or a crooner, this offense is unpardonable. A golden opportunity is afforded either Assemblyman Stephens or Assemblyman Andrews to render the Negro in particular and all citizens in general, by urging the passage of a measure at Albany making it unlawful to insult and ridicule a racial group in the State of New York by the calling of objectionable, offensive names in radio presentations.

Dixie Writer Warns Huey of His Political Dumbness

BIRMINGHAM, ALA., March 15 —(ANP)— John Temple Graves II, well known southern white liberal who writes a daily column for the Age-Herald, is willing to give Huey Long credit for being a smart man, but took occasion Saturday to warn the Kingfish that the use of contemptuous names in referring to Negro citizens is politically dumb. Writes Mr. Graves:

"Huey makes few slips, but he is going to have to watch himself much more carefully in his oral reference to the Negro. He says "nigger.' It may be hard for a southern demagogue to break a lifelong habit in order to become a national demagogue, and the Kingfish corrects himself whenever he can, but this simply won't do. There are too many thousands of Negro voters in this broad land."

AVONDALE KINDERGARTEN 'PICKANINNIES' PRESENT PLAYLET



"Six little pickaninnies eating watermelon rind," sing the half-dozen happy black-faced youngsters above. The watermelon is not real. Neither are the blackened faces. But the six youngsters are very much alive. They are pupils of the kindergarten class of the Avondale Mills School at Sylacauga. They are, left to right, Albert Harry, Murry Remson, Bill Drawhorne, Rex Hollis, Jack Riley and Robert Gaylor. The boys posed for the picture after presenting a kindergarten playlet.

LONG MEN SILENT ON RACIAL SET-UP

'Share-the-Wealth' Truck Crew Non-Committal on Reported Negro Organizers

Members of the sound truck crew of Rev. Gerald P. Smith, organizer of Senator Huey P. Long's "Share-the-Wealth" clubs, are non-committal about activities of reported Negro organizers.

The crew members and their truck spent Friday night here, en route to Valdosta, where Mr. Smith was to make a speech last night. Interviewed as they were leaving Macon early yesterday, they said they do not know whether Mr. Smith will speak later in Macon. He did not accompany them here.

They also had no comment to make on plans of Rev. Jason Welsh Kinsman of East St. Louis. Ill., Negro, quoted in the current issue of Collier's as saying he is "organizing with a special charter from the senator's office the colored brethren of the Share-the-Wealth clubs of America, with special emphasis on the fact that with Senator Long in the White House there wil be no black and no white, but just American patriots equal all around."

In his Georgia speeches, so far as known, Mr. Smith has not propounded racial equality.

The brightly-painted sound truck of the organizer bears in large print, along with other slogans, the favorite phrase of the Louisiana Kingfish—"Every man a king." Setting off this pronouncement is a gilded likeness of a coronet.

Race Problem - 1935

United States.

Williamson, W. Va., News
April 12, 1935

BEING FAIR TO THE NEGRO

Negroes as a racial group are inclined to believe that the American press plays up Negro criminal news in such a way as openly to condemn, or indirectly implicate the whole race.

They charge that constructive news about their race is played down, while criminal news is played up.

If this charge is true, and it probably can be sustained in too many instances, it is reprehensible and unfair.

The Negro, starting almost from scratch about three-quarters of a century ago in this country, has made rapid progress in all lines. He has proved himself ambitious and capable and a good citizen. There are exceptions of course, but we daresay that the great majority of colored people want to assume those responsibilities that go along with civilization.

They are proud of their achievements and rightly so. They disapprove of the derelictions of the criminal elements in their group and seek to abate these.

We think the press of the country could well give thought to how it handles news affecting the Negro group. The policy should be to treat it fairly, giving prominence to achievements of the group just as it has, the past, given prominence to stories concerning the group's criminals.

TOLEDO, O.
NEWS BEE

MAR 27 1935

NEGRO IN SOUTH IS LIKENED TO JEW IN REICH

Attorney's Wife Tells of Woes of Her Race Below Mason-Dixon Line

The plight of the Southern Negro in some respects parallels that of the Jew under the Nazi regime, Mrs. Constance Heslip, wife of Jesse Heslip, the Negro attorney, told 200 members of the Jewish sororities and fraternities in the Jewish Educational Building last night.



Mrs. Constance Heslip.

Although constitutionally permitted to vote, she said, the Southern Negro for 75 years has been afraid to exercise it.

Only $6 a year is spent on educational facilities for Negro children in Georgia, compared with $35 a year for the average white child, Mrs. Heslip said. The average below the Mason-Dixon line is $12 a year for the Negro child and $44 for the white.

"We Minorities."

Mrs. Heslip, whose topic was "We Minorities," placed the Negro now at the point where the Jewish race was forced to begin before it reached its present eminence.

"The intellectual accomplishments of the Jews are among the greatest the world ever has known. And it is largely from the Jewish race that the financial backing for Negro education has come," she said.

She cited as an example Julius Rosenwald and the foundation he established which, she said, has become almost infinite in its scope. There are 4000 Rosenwald Schools, exclusively for Negroes throughout the South. The fund left when he died is carrying on in fields of music, literature, medicine and many of the sciences.

Mrs. Heslip said it had been found that a lack of excitement in certain isolated so-called Christian communities can be blamed for many of the lynchings of Negroes in the South. Twelve Negroes have been lynched within the past year, most of them unjustly accused of rape, she declared.

Tells of Lynch Bill.

The Costigan-Wagner bill now before Congress asks that the community in which a lynching occurs pay $10,000 to the family of the victim. A $5000 fine, imprisonment or both will be imposed upon any official who turns a captive or prisoner over to a lynching mob, she explained.

The recent Harlem riots, said Mrs. Heslip, were purely economic uprisings which resulted primarily from the false report that a Negro youth had been shot. Crowded conditions and lack of employment are the equal causes, she believes. She said:

"The NRA means nothing to the average colored man. In New York the stores in his own district, Harlem, employ only white people. Yet the entire population buys all its commodities in those stores."

In the discussion period which followed her talk, Mrs. Heslip revealed that several of the youths in the Scottsboro case have gone blind after four years in prisons discarded for incarceration of white men.

Last night's meeting was conducted by Miss Selma Dolgin, president of the Jewish Sorority Council.

UNETHICAL, UNACADEMIC

A month ago Dr. Ralph C. Hutchinson, president of Washington and Jefferson College, refused to attend the seventy-fifth anniversary celebration of Louisiana State University. He gave as his reason that the common impression prevailed that L. S. U. was being exploited for the political benefit of one Huey Long.

Advertiser

Dr. Hutchinson's action was condemned by the L. S. U. authorities as being "unethical and unacademic." At that time The Advertiser, though unfamiliar with academic ethics, questioned the fitness of L. S. U. officials to judge such matters.

4-13-35

Dr. Glenn Frank, president of the University of Wisconsin and one of the leading educators of the United States, evidently did not share Dr. Hutchinson's attitude and accepted the invitation to attend the celebration.

But let us see what Dr. Frank stated in one of the feature addresses of the occasion.

Montgomery Ala.

First he said:

"A too intimately political domination of our State universities will, in time, produce in the United States a 'reptile university' to serve current political ends as Bismarck's 'reptile press' served the ends of the German empire. The establishment of an effective working relationship between State universities and State governments is of crucial importance to the future of the two. It is not the dominance of either by the other we want. It is a rational teaming of the two."

Could Dr. Frank have had the example of L. S. U. in mind when he expressed the foregoing sentiments?

Later in his address the noted educator said:

> Unless the scholars of a university are free, and are made to feel free, to prosecute their investigations without fear of interference and to publish their findings without fear of consequence, the university would as well be dismantled, for nothing save a rehash of yesterday's knowledge will ever come out of it.
>
> How shall this freedom be guaranteed? There are three, and only three, sure safeguards of academic freedom: First, the unbreakable courage of the individual scholar who is willing to lose his position at any moment and see himself turned into the street rather than trim his convictions to fit the views either of the administration of a university or the administration of a State; secondly, university administrators who will surrender everything else before they will permit freedom of the university's scholars to be infringed, and thirdly, security of tenure.

Some time ago the students of L. S. U. who were responsible for the publication of the school's newspaper were suspended, and refusing to accept the demands of the authorities, left the school permanently. Later a football coach who refused to listen to the demands of Huey Long resigned his position. Could Dr. Frank have had these students and the football coach in mind? Certainly they saw themselves "turned into the street, rather than trim their convictions."

"The State university belongs to the people of the State, all of the people, regardless of party or creed or race," Dr. Frank continued. "The day the State university sells its soul to a particular party or creed or race it would just as well close its doors, for it will die as a seat of learning and linger only as an agency of propaganda."

For shame L. S. U.! Have you invited a man all the way from Wisconsin to tell you that?

If the authorities of L. S. U. would longer hold up their heads, they will have to brand Dr. Frank's comment as something far worse than "unethical and unacademic."

LANCASTER, PA.
NEW ERA

APR 25 1935

"Right To Secede"

Tom Linder, Georgia Commissioner of Agriculture, does not agree with Thomas Jefferson that it is self-evident that all men are created free and equal. A market bulletin which he issued to the farmers of the state bore this declaration:

"The Socialist party believes in the equality of the races: they say so. The Republican party advocates equality of the races: they say so. The Democratic party is supposed to be the white man's party. Let's see how far we've wandered from this.

"The United States Supreme Court a few days ago reversed all the courts of Alabama in a case where some Negroes had been convicted of an assault on two white women on the grounds that no Negroes were on the jury.—I ask you men and women of Georgia—do you intend to submit to this kind of a proposition? Do you intend to submit to the proposition that no Negro can be convicted of assault on a white woman unless Negroes sit on a jury to try him?"

Preposterous, of course, but it expresses a very real prejudice which exists, unfortunately. The eminent agricultural authority is so incensed that he compares the Democratic Administration in Washington with the Russian government and solemnly informs his compatriots that "we still have the right to secede."

The South Is Bound

In a recent article in the Dallas Journal, Harry Moses pointed out that of 41,010 arrests in Dallas 11,889, or 29 per cent, were Negroes, despite the fact that Negroes are only 14.8 percent of the population. He further showed that 46 out of 78 murders were committed by Negroes.

No doubt that indicates a lack of regard for law and too much unbridled passion and temper on the part of Negroes. But Negroes, while recognizing that, agree that the figures indict the white, who have the past and will cotinue to do so as long forced Negroes to live like animals in laid-out marshes, and crowded, wall-divided corrals, more than it does Negroes.

The South has retarded its growth in the past and will continue to do so as long as it spends two-thirds of its thought and energy keeping the Negro in poor streets, skeleton schools and victims of brutal "justice;" and the other third justifying or apologizing for it!

No man attains poise and true greatness until he rids himself of littleness and greed. Meanness hurts the perpetrator more than the victim. The South will never reach its destiny until it abandons its mean attitude toward Negroes. When the South decides to treat all citizens fairly it will release itself from the inhibitions that bind and sap its genius.

The low living conditions of the Negro in the South are a reflection on Southern leadership. The poor whites and Negroes are inevitably the backbone of the South and they must be improved before the South can climb.

The present spending orgy of the government offers the South a chance to broaden and strengthen its foundation by improving living conditions of Negroes as well as poor whites. The Czar of Russia thought the peasantry was created to be crushed. Statesmanship knows the peasants are the feet and body of a nation. Has the South any statesmen? What permanent good will the South get out of all this money? Negroes must get the point about the cardinal principal and do their part to make all of the South see it.

Linder Contends Georgia Has Right to Quit Union

Farm Commissioner Doesn't Like U. S. Court's Ruling in Scottsboro Case

ATLANTA, May 7 (AP)—Striking out against radical equality, Thomas M. Linder, Georgia commissioner of agriculture, today reiterated that "we still have the right to secede" if it comes to the question of "submitting to racial equality."

It was Linder who recently offered secession of Georgia from the Union as a possible method of ultimately settling differences between this state and the national administration, in an article he published in the Market Bulletin, his department's farm publication.

Asked today to elaborate on this suggestion, Linder said it was "very plain what I meant," he added:

"In closing that article, I made reference to the fact that for the first time the white people of this state were called upon to march to the polls, side by side with the Negroes, to vote in the Democratic election of the Bankhead bill.

"I further called attention to the decision of the supreme court in the Scottsboro case, requiring Negroes to be put in the jury boxes, and I wound up by saying, 'No question is ever settled until it is settled right. We still have the right to secede.'

"I think that clearly carries to the mind of any thinking person the idea that should conditions become extreme enough to demand it—for instance, should it come to the question of submitting to racial equality—we still have the right to secede."

Linder said he didn't believe there is "any courageous white man in Georgia who is the son, grandson, great-grandson of a Confederate soldier, who would resent this statement."

The commissioner said, in answer to a question, he did not infer that the national administration fostered racial equality.

"I am merely recognizing the fact that the supreme court of the United States rendered an opinion (in the Scottsboro case), which says in effect that a Negro cannot be convicted of a crime against a white woman unless Negroes are in the jury box to try him."

Following the same line of reasoning, he stated, the ruling would necessitate having a Negro judge to try the case and Negroes on the appelate courts to review the trial.

In his latest signed article in the Market Bulletin Linder this week encourages the farmers to "secede" from the processing tax on hogs, criticizes the processing tax on syrup and says Georgia growers have already "seceded" from the "guano trust fostered by Wall Street interests and the NRA."

VALDOSTA, GA
TIMES

APR 25 1935

CALLING MR. LINDER

Just where Commissioner of Agriculture Tom Linder is heading when he suggests in the current issue of the Market Bulletin, official publication of the State Department of Agriculture, that "We still have the right to secede," even his friends cannot say.

Mr. Linder uses two and a half pages of the Bulletin in a tirade against President Roosevelt and Secretary of Agriculture Wallace. He charges that Mr. Roosevelt is following Socialist and Republican platforms, rather than the platform of the Democratic party, and he indirectly ridicules the recent visit of Mr. Wallace to Atlanta, charging that he spoke only to employes of the AAA while there.

Mr. Linder, evidently in an effort to incite feeling, tries to use the recent decision of the United States supreme court in the Alabama case, where conviction of the Scottsboro negroes was reversed on the grounds that no negroes were on the jury, as an indication that the Democratic party has strayed away from its idea of being the "white man's party," as if the Democratic party as such, had anything to do with a decision handed down by the supreme court.

Mr. Linder is conceded the right to his opinion on public questions. He has the right to differ from the policies which have been undertaken by Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Wallace in their efforts to help the farmers of the nation to a more favorable place in the recovery program. He has the undoubted right to advise Georgia farmers that these policies are harmful, although it is a bit hard to see how he is ever going to convince a Georgia cotton farmer or a Georgia tobacco grower that their condition is not improved at the present time over what it was when Mr. Roosevelt took office.

The Times is not going to call Mr. Linder names. The Times is not going to enter into any loud and wordy denunciation. He evidently is following the lead of his chief, Governor Talmadge.

We cannot refrain, however, from expressing the conviction that Mr. Linder has overstepped the bounds of reason and propriety when he endeavors, as he certainly does in his article in the Bulletin, to incite racial feeling. This is no time for any such endeavor. There is no reason for such a suggestion in Georgia, Alabama or any other state. It is conceivable that a state might have not menaced by any question of racial equality. Of that we are certain. Mr. Linder shows poor judgment and fails miserably to demonstrate any right to leadership in Georgia with such doctrine. He does not express the feelings of any appreciable number of Georgians. Georgians are

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Mr. Linder uses two and a half pages of the Bulletin in a tirade against President Roosevelt and Secretary of Agriculture Wallace. He charges that Mr. Roosevelt is following Socialist and Republican platforms, rather than the platform of the Democratic party, and he indirectly ridicules the recent visit of Mr. Wallace to Atlanta, charging that he spoke only to employes of the AAA while there.

Mr. Linder, evidently in an effort to incite feeling, tries to use the recent decision of the United States supreme court in the Alabama case, where conviction of the Scottsboro negroes was reversed on the grounds that no negroes were on the jury, as an indication that the Democratic party has strayed away from its idea of being the "white man's party," as if the Democratic party as such, had anything to do with a decision handed down by the supreme court.

Mr. Linder is conceded the right to his opinion on public questions. He has the right to differ from the policies which have been undertaken by Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Wallace in their efforts to help the farmers of the nation to a more favorable place in the recovery program. He has the undoubted right to advise Georgia farmers that these policies are harmful, although it is a bit hard to see how he is ever going to convince a Georgia cotton farmer or a Georgia tobacco grower that their condition is not improved at the present time over what it was when Mr. Roosevelt took office.

The Times is not going to call Mr. Linder names. The Times is not going to enter into any loud and wordy denunciation. He evidently is following the lead of his chief, Governor Talmadge.

We cannot refrain, however, from expressing the conviction that Mr. Linder has overstepped the bounds of reason and propriety when he endeavors, as he certainly does in his article in the Bulletin the right to secede, but Mr. Linder shows to incite racial feeling. This is no time for any such endeavor. There is no reason for such a sugestion in Georgia, Alabama or any other state. Georgians are not menaced by any question of racial equality. It is conceivable that a state might have overstepped the bounds of reason and propriety when it has overstepped the feelings of any appreciable number of Georgians. Of that we are certain.

Race Problem-1935
United States.

MIAMI AND THE MIAMIANS

By EMMETT J. MARSHALL

Miami is a much advertised city. Its bathing beaches, its fifty-two varieties of palms, vigilant and sleeping hibiscus, poinsettias and gladiolas with green grass and shrubbery ever present; its tropical fruits everywhere together with its eternal springtime make Miami one of America's natural playgrounds in winter when most of the United States is cold or frozen.

At the outset, however, one must draw a sharp line between white Miami and Colored Miami, for East is East and West is West and never the twain shall meet. Therefore, when one thinks of the warm ocean waves which bathe the spacious beaches, the flowery parks with their cozy benches, the beautiful, green lawns, and roomy, clean boulevards, he must never think of BLACK Miami. That is the heritages of the white—forbidden fruit to the black.

It is reported that Negroes cannot even go over on the beach, unless they have a pass which shows that the bearer is an employee of some white employer. And yet, at every turn, one sees white men and women going wherever they will in Colored town. They have all kinds of businesses to rake in the nickels and dimes of the dark citizens while granting them only the opportunity to exist. If a Colored person would attempt to set up some sort of business, however small, in White Town, he would probably be branded as a mad radical and silenced once for always.

My first introduction to Miami was one which I shall long remember. I left Havana, Cuba and arrived in Miami on Vigil of All Saints' Day or Halloween Night, and went straightway into so-called Colored Town, hoping to see the Halloween mask of the dark Americans who lived there. It so happened that I saw more than that.

Between three and four o'clock in the morning, I stepped out of the Lyric Beer Garden just in time to see two policemen, each of them appearing to be about six feet or more in height and weighing more than 200 pounds, beating a Negro girl with a knotted cow-hide whip. They beat her, and beat her, and without even permitting her to say a word in her defense shoved her homeward. She went slowly, too slowly for them, perhaps; she was crying and bleeding, and saying, "The police would not even let me explain to them." Apparently they heard this all-too-true statement, for as they started away in their opened wooden patrol with three windows in each side and one in the rear, they stopped and turned back after they had gone only three blocks; and again they beat the girl and absolutely refused to hear anything she had to say. Finally they threw her into the patrol with the demand, "Shut up your damn mouth!"

And so, without a hearing, the Negro girl was punished, and punished a second time, then carried off to jail to be punished yet again. The writer reported the case as above to S. D. McCreary, chief of police; Hon. E. G. Sewell, the mayor of Miami; to the state chief prosecuting attorney and to Hon. Dave Sholtz, governor of the State of Florida, and concluded as follows: "As one trained in history and political science, and a believer in justice for all peoples of whatever clime or hue, I am tempted to ask Your Excellency if it is still lawful to lash a Miami citizen unheard?

"I was told by the inhabitants of 'nigger town,' so-called, that the demonstration I saw was a daily occurrence in this section of Miami. Moreover, there was some intimation that the cops treated the girl in this manner because she, on previous occasions, had refused to yield to their sexual solicitations. From what I observed such may well be true; but true or not, the average man who is privileged to wear a badge and tote a gun as an arm of the law has to be constantly reminded that he is just a policeman—not a judge or jury; and EVERY AMERICAN CITIZEN, in accordance with our social philosophy and legal system, is innocent until proven guilty and being proven guilty by a regular constituted court should be punished according to law, and not according to the whims of a lustful, pig-headed cop. Most policemen whether here or elsewhere, are too often just plain damn fools! And a policeman who behaved after the manner of those in Patrol 15 on Halloween Night are no less than criminals and fit subjects for the goose-house.

Southern justice is revolting no matter which way we slice it. It is too ruthless on the one hand and too lax on the other. The negligence is too apparent when one bad Negro assaults or kills another tough Negro. And that is a very, very common occurrence here, indeed, one would hardly vary from accuracy if he would just say it is a daily occurrence. Sunday morning several of us were sitting on the piazza discussing the various economic movements of this administration, when a shrieking voice rang out: "Jeff done killed Harry." We had but to crane our necks to see Harry with blood spouting from his heart, which had been pierced by the point of a knife.

The alarm was given but it was at least 35 minutes before any officer arrived. They made no effort to apprehend the murderer. They drove off after sitting in their patrol in front of the house for about five minutes. Upon their leaving, the murderer came staggering along the street. Someone asked, "Is that the man who killed Harry?" Tapping himself on the chest, he answered, "Yes, this is the mighty Jeff!" He went home and had his breakfast, I am told, and the police never even bothered to search the house, but continued to drive here and there up and down the streets.

When I could stand no more I left the house and started down town. The police drove by me. My whistle brought them to a standstill. I asked them if they were trying to catch Jeff. They said, yes, but added that they had been told that he was on his way to give up. I told them exactly where he was, and he was finally captured because he did not choose to run. The indifference shown by the cops in this case is normal to this section when only Negroes are involved.

The powers that be do not seem to realize the fundamental principles of good, orderly, civilized government. Crime is like disease. It will affect the whole community, white and black, if it is not checked. And the worst part about it all is, after the white officers have encouraged the criminal blacks to be more criminal, one of these criminals may run amuck in so-called White Town, then the whole Negro section is terrorized by white riff-raff who, I am told, are permitted to arm and ride with impunity through the Negro section.

Herein is taken one truth and revealed another. For the good Negro citizens, and there are a lot of them here, are criminally indifferent. They have a lot of civic pride, in fact, too much of it. But they do not exercise their civic rights and duties, by petitioning the City Hall for the same type of justice that the whites enjoy. In fact, most of the dark citizens do not know their rights.

For instance, I was told that a Negro could not go down town in White Town at night, even to the postoffice. I found that to be all fiction. I not only went to the postoffice, but went to the white Flager Memorial library. Of course, the whites were surprised to see me there and excuses were made to prevent me from doing my research work there. The librarian, Miss Jarvis, said she was too busy to find the materials for me and she was the only one who knew where they were, but asked me to call the next day. I did so, only to be told that the materials were not in the library.

However, nobody bothered me for being in White Town at night. And why should they? The whites are always in Colored Town. The affairs between dark harlots and white men are brazenly displayed in the broad daylight. This goes on in the same state that hideously tortured Claude Neal until death gave him a merciful end. Without condoning the crime of the latter, we must frown upon the hypocrisy of the white South which has broken every rule of the game before it starts and continues to break them while social sanction is given to those who lynch a black man who has sexual relation with a white woman, whether she wished it or not.

British Speaker Forsees Colored U. S. President

BOSTON, Mass. — (Carroll) — Prof. J. B. S. Haldane, biologist of London (England) University startled a large audience at Ford Hall forum Sunday, when he expressed his belief in the possibility of the election of a colored man as President of the United States, "when the prejudices left over from the slavery regime have died out."

He confessed his inability to understand what is meant when one race is declared superior to another. Professor Haldane declared it as absurd to claim superiority for a Nordic race as it would be to assert that red-haired people are superior to all others. If the superiority of race is to be decided by the weight of the brain, the speaker stated, the Eskimo is superior to the white man.

Cites Nazi Regime

Professor Haldane compared the present Nazi regime, which claims that all German citizens must be Nordics, with that of France, where, he said, there are three kinds of people besides colored.

He also declared that he does not believe in a Nordic race, but only in a light-haired, blue-eyed Nordic type, which may belong to any of half a dozen or more countries. "Hitler himself is not of the Nordic, but of the Alpine type," he added.

Of the population of Sweden, forty per cent are what Nordics ought to be, he asserted. Persons in the northern part of Germany are of Nordic type, and many in South Germany of the Alpine and the Mediterranean type, he asserted.

Series on Long Starts Tuesday In the 'Daily'

Beginning in Tuesday's issue, the Daily Worker will publish a series of articles by Sender Garlin, Daily Worker staff writer, dealing with Huey Long and recent developments in Louisiana. In the same issue C. A. Hathaway, editor of the Daily Worker, will begin a number of interpretative articles on the Huey Long movement and its relation to the national situation.

Garlin spent four weeks in Louisiana, interviewing Negro and white workers, farmers and sharecroppers from one end of the state to the other. He interviewed Huey Long during the special session in Baton Rouge, as well as Gov. O. K. Allen, Long's puppet governor, Mayor Sems T. Walmsley of New Orleans, officials of the American Federation of Labor, Ernest Bourgeois, leader of the Square Deal Association. All the articles will be illustrated with photographs taken on the scene.

Articles in the series will answer such questions as: What is the basis for Huey Long's "fight" against the Standard Oil Company? What has been Long's attitude toward labor in Louisiana? What is the "Share the Wealth" program? What is the nature of the anti-Long movement?

Don't miss this series beginning in the Daily Worker next Tuesday, March 12th.

RECORD

Bunkie, La.

FEB 15 1935

Huey Long is pleading to the Negroes of the Nation for their support. No one knows to what ends this appeal has been made through "share the wealth" clubs, a majority of which is composed of members of the colored race. The elimination of the Poll tax in Louisiana is part of the Nationwide program to secure their support, if and when he runs for President, knowing full well that the intelligent people of the State and Nation will not vote for him. Like the carpet-baggers who took over the government following the Civil War, Huey Long is promising them that his "share the wealth" program will tear up big fortunes, and like the four winds, scatter it amongst the dupes who believe in his scheme—never for once mentioning the fact that since he has had his head in the swill trough that he has accumulated a fortune estimated at from six to ten millions of dollars, nor does he tell HOW he accumulated it. When Mr. Long starts distributing his own fortune, instead of periodically ADDING TO IT, then, AND ONLY THEN, will we place any faith in the childish doctrine of "distributing the wealth" among the POOR. Our sympathy goes out to those SO WEAK as to believe that such will ever be accomplished. Instead of working in the interest of the poor, he has a supreme contempt for those who are keeping him in power. Only a few years ago, when elected governor by a majority of 129,000, he made the remark that "out of 129-000 voters he could not find 7,000 with sense enough to give jobs to." How is that for appreciation? However, that is Huey Long, and the attitude he holds toward the dupes who feel flattered if he even as much as looks in their direction. Some of the dupes, however, are beginning to THINK, and are leaving the crawfish. More will leave his ranks when the truth shall have been told them of how little he cares for their support, and how they are being used to further tighten the strangle hold about THEIR OWN necks. But, back to the Negro question. Here is what Oscar DePriest, former Negro Republican Representative, of Illinois, defeated in the recent election by a big, black Alabama raised Negro—but a Democrat—has to say about HIS FRIEND HUEY P. LONG:

"In politics I am FOR THE MAN WHO IS FOR MY PEOPLE. I heartily ENDORSE the program of United States Senator Long BECAUSE HE IS MAKING IT POSSIBLE FOR THE NEGRO TO VOTE without the poll tax red tape, and when I reach Washington I AM GOING TO CALL ON HIM."

Imagine a United States Senator from Louisiana, elected by the white electorate of the State, entertaining Oscar DePriest, who, for the past several years, has been one of the most despicable Congressmen in Washington toward everything pertaining to white supremacy. Shades of our fathers! What would our forbears think, who shed their blood on Canal Street in order that carpet bag rule in Baton Rouge and metropolitan police in New Orleans would be wiped out? What would they think, could they but raise up and peer from their graves, and see Huey Long passing by following the banner of Oscar DePriest and his kind? Are the sober-minded, thinking, misguided followers of Huey Long in Louisiana never going to wake up to the gravity of the situation? Are you content to follow a man who caters to the Negro in the North, and makes you believe he hates them in hte South? The time is soon coming—not many months off—when you must make your choice. This paper believes that a majority will stay lined up with the WHITE PEOPLE—job or no job.

—

Postmaster General James A. Farley, one of the biggest men in the Democratic party, says in regard to Huey Long running for President:

"No one pays the slightest attention to Huey Long.

"He doesn't mean a thing to the Democratic party. If he ran for President he would get only a few votes, and would lose badly. He could not carry ONE State, NOT EVEN HIS OWN. The Democrats WOULDN'T vote for him; only the Long followers would."

Mr. Farley, in his interview, did state however, that he felt assured that Franklin D. Roosevelt would be reelected President in 1936. Mr. Farley is one of the biggest men in the United States, and his word carries weight to millions of people. He has possibly had more to do with the present administration than any one single man in the cabinet, and has always contributed every ounce of enegery he possessed in helping the President with his problems. Jim Farley knows whereof he speaks, and when the time comes to choose a candidate for President for another term, you will find him fighting for the principles of Democracy—and not for any man or set of men who favor the obnoxious principles advocated by the crawfish—the subjugation of Louisiana being an example thereof.

As the people of the Nation learn the TRUTH—how the crawfish has subjugated the Legislature, courts, schools, municipalities, enterprises and individuals in Louisiana, they will fight shy on risking such a man as that in the White House at Washington. Not all the voters of the Nation will swallow that kind of treatment. NOT YET!

WHERE PHILANTHROPY HURTS

Loren Miller, commenting upon the book published by Charles S. Johnson, professor of sociology at Fisk university, entitled "Shadows of the Plantation" among other things, makes this interesting statement, "Black people cannot solve their problems in the shadow of philanthropy. Their only salvation lies in the destruction of that system of property relations that keeps most of them in abject poverty and supplies a few chosen ones with funds to study that poverty."

The writer's comment opens up a large vein of thought in many avenues of observation and discussion. It is really a question yet to be determined by constructive progress whether or not much of the philanthropy which has been doled out to us through certain channels has not had a baneful influence in hampering our proper action and conduct on many questions involving our economic, industrial and political relations.

These free grants of training given to certain students, have, in turn, created an intellectual setup which does not, in the real sense of the situation, represent the interest of black people. They are schooled and educated by those who furnish the wherewith of their training to carry out certain purposes and in many cases to act as propagandists and advertising mediums for the peculiar wares handled by their sponsors.

The nation's capital in the new administration has been furnished with this type of intellectual setup to determine and to act as Maxim silencers for the administration of all grievances which might reach the ear of the powers that be. This white collared gentry are schooled to see and to curb their thinking in line and in harmony not with what we should have as a race but with what those who employ them think we should have.

Their presence in Washington as advisors on Race matters is in fact a hindrance to the obtaining of that justice and equality to which we are entitled. It would be interesting to know what advice the key men in Washington are giving Mr. Harold Ickes, secretary of the interior and one who we know would do something constructive for our group, if properly advised.

Have they informed Mr. Ickes that nothing has been done toward giving black men any kind of opportunity in the ranks of the most common employment in the many government adventures now in process of construction. The public would like to know what are these gentlemen doing for the benefit of their group or is it their responsibility to merely stand by, have a few meetings, make out reports and then say all is well?

Race Problem - 1935.

United States.

President Wright Recommends Hard Work, Courage and Initiative as Keys To Success.

Negro Newspapers Are Wonderful Aids In Enlightening Race

IS THERE A NEGRO PROBLEM AND IS IT BEING SOLVED

By R. R. WRIGHT, SR.



Week after week, I have read the Pittsburgh Courier, the Philadelphia Tribune, the Afro American, the Amsterdam News, Norfolk Journal-Guide and the Philadelphia Independent. These newspapers I consider the best or representative of the Negro papers in America. Each week I have found the most valuable information in these papers. I have been extremely interested to read in them the various suggestions for the solution of the race question. There are given in these papers by different writers various solutions or processes of solution of what some or all are pleased to call the race question.

I have come to the conclusion that we have been neglecting or forgetting to notice that the so-called race question is GRADUALLY BEING SOLVED by many different elements and some of these elements which, I am sure, must have escaped the attention of our erudite writers.

In the first place, I believe that the various newspapers themselves are unwittingly perhaps, solving the Negro problem. These newspapers are doing a wonderful work in enlightening the people along various lines and on numerous plans for racial development. The very fact that these newspapers are in extistence is evidence of the open fact that they are being read and the fact that they are being read is evidence of growth and intelligence and cooperation among the people such as must help to solve any problem. I can remember very distinctly the first few feeble Negro newspapers that were started in this country after the Emancipation Proclamation was issued. To compare those early newspapers with these magnificent papers which I have read and which are representative of our fine Negro newspapers of today and to note now unanimously they are being supported by the people throughout the United States, one will hardly be in doubt to tell whether or not he believes that the race problem is gradually being solved. I believe, again that integrity with proper planning hard work and initiative will solve almost any problem.

From the head lines in some of our newspapers I notice that our distinguished historian, Carter G. Woodsan, thinks that we should "Scrap all religion". The very fact that Mr. Woodson makes such a statement is evidence of progress. I do not agree with him. Evidently our religion has made some impression on him I believe that the Christian church and the Christian ministers of this country are the salvation and savors in the solution of his problem. Our friend, Walter White, perhaps, feels that if "a campaign against ynching could succeed" that it would put us a long way forward in the solution of our problem. I agree with him. The N. A. A. C. P. has done a wonderful work in helping to solve the Negro problems as has also the Urban League and such other organizations of the kind. My friend, James Weldon Johnson does not exactly present what he calls the solution of the race problem but he gives some very wholesome advice. The wonderful literary work of Mr. Johnson and others of his class are doing and have done much toward the solution of this problem. But I think he agrees with the suggestion I made in my Columbus, Ohio speech that nation wide cooperation of our schools, churches, fraternal and business groups for the upbuilding of Negro morals and their economic situation will go far toward making us feel that we can win our way just as others have won their way. I advocate a nation wide radio hook-up to be used for the discussion of our problem by our best men and women of both races. We must not fail to register, even now, that all these men are working for the solution of our problem.

Paul Lawrence Dunbar, Cullen and others, Roland Hayes and his class, George W. Carver, Dr. Just and others are doing their part in helping solve the race problem. My friend Kelly Miller has been years, perhaps unwittingly, but working on this problem for he has done much toward the solution of this problem. Take the numerous colleges over which Negroes presides as pre-

sidents; in which Negro professors are engaged; take the fine lawyers, and the eminent physicians scattered all over this country and you will see that the rce problem is GRADUALLY BEING SOLVED. One need not leave out what is be- politician either. In fact ev- ed. In fact every one who is accomplishing anything for the country and race is doing something for the solution of this great question.

Some how or other, I do not worry a great deal about the solution of the Negro guestion. I am not particulary interested in segregation or anti segregation. I believe in using the intelligence and the initiative with which God has endowed us and which has been charpened by our contact with the progressive Anglo-Saxon and which I feel can solve our own problem.

With pardonable pride I mention the introduction of Haitian coffee into this country. A white party has just called me up who has made a thorough investigation of the introduction of this Haitian coffe into America and says that the only one that he can find who is now doing anything in this way is the Citizens & Southern Bank and Trust Company which is introducing it for the use of "Haitian Coffee and Products Trading Company." The introduction of this coffee has given employment even in the city of Philadelphia to nearly fifty persons and has elicited nearly five hundred inquiries from all parts of this country asking for coffee which many of them are taking because of the fact that the coffee comes from a Negro Republic and is being distributed by Negroes. It seems to me that this is evidence that we can cooperate for the solution of our Negro problem. There is no need to discontinue or change many or probably any of the processes that are not in operation. In fighting the present depression President Roosevelt has resorted to many devices, has called in question thousands of men and women of different views, in order that he may find the proper thing that will get the American Nation out of the rough of depression. He continues his operation with renewed vigor and with excellent skill, and is not even stopping to complain or to criticize, but has simply gone on his way performing his great task and is gradually solving the depression problem. In this same way the intelligent Negroes of this country are working. Much is under way and the time will come when we shall decide that much is being done along all lines to put us in line with the progress of this country.

Let me conclude as I began good talk, good writing, good planning, good religion, hard work, courageous initiative and perseverance with faith in God and man, we are bound to succeed.

"FREE, WHITE AND 21."

For twelve months or more the phrase: 'Free, white and 21," has been repeatedly used by screen stars in movie conversation. When uttered, the declaimer assumes a superior air, striving to create the impression that to be free, white and 21 is tantamount to being above censure or criticism for any acts committed, questionable or otherwise, and can do just as he or she darn pleases.

Joan Crawford, in the picture, "Forsaking All Others," is the latest to strike a supercilious attitude and proudly exclaim: "I am free, white ad 21!" It may be doing Miss Crawford an injustice, but a faint suspicion exists that she was guilty of similarly expressing herself before.

Instead of entering into an extended discussion, The New York Age suggests to Will Hays and the moguls of the motion picture industry that for obvious reasons the line be eliminated from cinematic vocabulary. The objection is based on grounds that Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer would interpose against the use of phrase: "Free, white, Aryan and 21."

RECORD
Bunkie, La.
FEB 15 1935

DE PRIEST IN LOUISIANA

Oscar De Priest, friend and supporter of the crawfish, Negro politician of Chicago, has been in Louisiana during the past week, and has made addresses to the colored population of New Orleans in which he stated that he was "greatly in favor of Senator Long in appreciation for what he HAS DONE for the Negroes of the United States, and Louisiana especially." You can mark our words, the importation of such men as DePriest, and coming at this time especially, is done for a PURPOSE. That purpose, it does not take a wise man to guess. Some of these fine mornings the people of the United States are going to wake up to find out that its Public Enemy No. 1 is no kidnaper or bank robber. When such men as Arthur Brisbane recognize this danger, it is high time that the common people were waking up. Until the people of this State set the pace, other States will naturally wonder WHY? Surely liberty-loving citizens of Louisiana are about fed up. They have stood just about all they are going to stand. Huey Long is treading on extremely dangerous ground when he lays open the voting franchise to the illiterates whom he hopes to use as a cats paw to further control Louisiana. His scheme will fail when the time comes for him to put it into execution. His military and Cossacks will indeed be busy if, and when, the voting franchise of Louisiana is taken out of the hands of the tax-paying public and put into the hands of those illiterates who own nothing, want nothing and care less about governmental affairs. We shall see what we shall see.

Albany, Ga., Herald
February 6, 1935

THE NEGRO IN THE SOUTH.

Our attention has been called to an item in the Pittsburgh, Pa., Courier, weekly newspaper published in the interest of the American Negro, in which reference is made to the pastor of an Albany Church. The item reads as follows: "Some of the members and citizens of Albany, Ga., do not like the type of sermons that are preached by the Rev. Allen R. Cooper, pastor of Bethel A. M. E. Church of Albany, Ga. In a letter to us, the writer said: 'The white people of Georgia don't care where the Negro goes, they would be glad to get rid of a lot of them in the South. The preacher, like many of our other friends, says the South is the place for us.'"

A report of the sermon of the Albany colored minister which inspired the foregoing comment was printed in The Herald, having been written by a member of the congregation. The preacher expressed the opinion that if God saw fit to let four million Negroes find freedom in the South, their descendants might, "as a token of appreciation" if for no other reason, remain here to work out their destiny. He expressed the opinion that the Negroes in America have a better opportunity in the South than in the North, because they are better understood here, and have more real friends. He "remarked in passing" that Southern Negroes who went to seek their fortunes in the section of the country in which the Pittsburgh Courier is published failed to find the "Blue Heaven" which they had been led to believe awaited them there.

Most of the Negro newspapers and periodicals published in the North are consistently—it would seem almost traditionally—critical of Southern white people as friends and neighbors of Southern Negroes. There's nothing that can be done about it, and nobody tries to do anything about it. It is a prejudice which must be accepted philosophically by those against whom it is cherished, but Negroes in the South who try to be good citizens will continue to receive the fair and just treatment which good citizens have every right to expect.

Race Problem – 1935
United States

Rev. Bumry Writes Huey Long Letter

Criticizes Senator For Insulting Remark Over the Radio.

An Open Letter to Hon. Huey P. Long

Hon. Huey P. Long,
J. S. Senator,
Washington, D. C.
Honorable Sir:

I listened in at your speech Thursday evening the 7st inst., over the National Broadcast. I was interested in your plans for the relief of American citizens, all of which seems possible, but difficult.

I also with millions of Negro citizens appreciate your successful effort in removing the obstructions preventing Negroes in your State from exercising the franchise. I was however, disgusted and grossly insulted as millions of Negroes were when you said: "I have here a letter from a poor 'nigger,' etc. When I heard that 'nigger' all my confidence in your sincerity, education, culture, and non-racial prejudice vanished.

There were no regions under heaven for the use of such a word, only that of humiliating 14 millions of Negro citizens, or feeding the rabid Negro haters of the country. You could have said Negro just as easily.

I do not believe you would forget any say "nigger" in any Negro assembly in Washington or any city or town in the North. As a law maker in the Senate of the Untied States, with a population of some 14 millions of Negroes born to the manor, many of them superior to yourself, both in education and culture, you should respect the feelings of such people and respect the members of the highest Legislative branch of the nation.

You know, or should have known, that you were violating the rules of the National Broadcasting Company, and then I wonder if you would over the radio refer to the Irish as "Mickeys," to the Jews as "Sheeneys" and to your own people as "Crackers."

In reply to your opponents against your plan you referred to the Bible, in support of your contentions. I want to call your attention to that same book that says, "Be not deceived, God is not mocked, for whatsoever a man (nation) soweth, that shall he also reap." And there are no people on earth that has had the most wretched experiences of this truth, than the people of the South land.

As a Senator, and with the influence you have in your State, you could use your good offices in teaching your people to discard the use of the word "nigger," which is a fighting insult to every self-respecting Negro in America. It will pay you, and the future generations of the white people of America to respect the feelings of Negroes and their rights as American citizens * * * While you are striving to give men women and children, bread, show them that life is more than meat, and the body more than raiment. Do unto others as you would that they would do unto you, and so fulfill the law of Christ.

(The original copy of this letter has been mailed to the Senator.)

Rev. R. H. Bumry.
215 East Tenth Avenue,
Homestead, Pa.

YOUNGSTOWN, O.
TELEGRAM

FEB 15 1935

LEADS BY DOING

WILLIAM PICKENS, field secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, who was the city's guest Wednesday, is a leader who sets the example himself.

Although he is devoting his life to the welfare of the Negro race, his activities and his influences are such as to affect and benefit mankind in general. He belongs to all the people as did Booker T. Washington and Paul Lawrence Dunbar.

Mr. Pickens talked to the Rotary Club Wednesday noon on "Abraham Lincoln." It was a fitting tribute and a graphic picture by one who has made the study of "The Great Emancipator" a labor of love.

As a leader of his people Mr. Pickens has attained wide recognition in writing, in speaking and in putting his principals into action. The results of his labors have been practical as well as spiritual.

At present Mr. Pickens is devoting his time and energies to advancing the interests of the Costigan-Wagner bill which would make lynching a Federal offense, a bill this newspaper has urged repeatedly. The widespread effect of Federal authority in kidnaping offenses seems to justify its confidence in the measure both as preventive and punishment.

Mr. Pickens is seeking support for the Costigan-Wagner bill by directing attention to it and by organizing the sentiment in its favor.

Those who heard Mr. Pickens at the Rotary Club at noon and at the First Presbyterian Church in the evening, were impressed by his personality and by his intelligence, as well as by his able presentation of the cause for which he is so earnestly working.

As has been said, he leads by not only showing the way, but by tackling the task himself.

PALESTINE, TEX.
PRESS

MAR 23 1935

Negro Orator Urges Negroes Stay In South

Negroes can get what they want right in the south, with the help of southern white people, Booker T. Washington, Jr., son of the famous leader of the colored race in America, told a small audience in the district courtroom here Wednesday night.

"I love the Southern white man," Washington said, "because I was raised with him.

"They talk of separating the races, of sending us back to Africa. Well, they could put us on the boats, but there would be 10,000 born before morning. They talk of segregating us and putting us in some one state, like they did the Indians in Oklahoma, and building a wall around us. But it would have to be a mighty high wall to keep the Southern white man out. He would climb over to sell us radios, automobiles and such things."

The speaker, who displayed an oratorical ability of high quality, compared the negro race to a ship in the mouth of the Amazon river. The ship was out of water. Washington said, and the captain sent a radio appeal for other ships to send water lest the crew perish.

"Let down your bucket where you are," came back the message. And when the bucket was let down, it came up filled with fresh water from the great river, which had been mistaken for the ocean.

"In agriculture, in domestic circles, in your homes, in good churches and good schools, let down your bucket where you are," the negro advised his colored hearers.

"It's in the South that the black man is given a man's chance in business," he continued. "I don't want our race to feel that all of their friends are north of the Mason-Dixon line, or that all of their enemies are south of that line. I'm a Southerner. Cast down your bucket among the sixteen million colored people in the South."

Asserting he was not ashamed of his race, Washington praised the negroes of the country as builders of highways, railroads and other improvements. He said he had traveled widely and had spoken in all of the largest cities of the country.

Admitting that there is injustice and discrimination against the colored race in some instances, the speaker told the white people in his audience that when a colored man asks for better schools and better living conditions, it does not mean that the black man wants social equality.

"It means," Washington said, "that he wants you to step up a little higher and let him take the place you just left."

The negro orator drew a laugh from both divisions of his audience when he touched on charges that negroes are immoral.

"Now, how can you tie a man's feet and expect him to walk," he asked. Continuing, he said that when a black man is forced to live in dark places, without lights, the colors blend and it is not to be wondered at that something comes up missing.

"You say negroes are not clean. It's up to you to see that they are clean."

Washington touched upon the transmission of diseases from servants to their employers and the transmission of faulty habits of speech and action from negro nurses to their white charges. To surround this, he said, the negro must be educated, be made to keep clean and to think right. It is to the interest of the white race to see that these things are done.

"I want the white man to save himself by saving the negro," he said. "Both races are helping each other to a higher life in the future."

The speaker said negro school children "must be smart," since they manage to obtain their learning at much less cost than whites. He compared educational costs briefly.

"I'm not concerned," he said, "about sitting down beside white folks in an opera house. I'm concerned about my people owning their homes and having a dollar to call their own. I like to go up against problems. I wouldn't want to live in a country without problems."

Washington is on a tour of the southern states, lecturing in the interest of better relations between the white and negro races. He is presenting the various problems confronting the people of his race. A brilliant speaker, he is attempting to follow in the footseps of his father in accomplishing something for the negroes of the south.

J. A. B. Strain, president of the Colored Citizens' League, and A. M. Story, principal of the Lincoln High school, were instrumental in bringing Washington to Palestine

Mrs. Roosevelt Is Speaker for NAACP in D.C.

First Lady Aids Membership Drive with Address Sunday.

WAGE-EQUALITY IS NEEDED, SHE SAYS

Minority Groups Must Work Harder.

Complete text of Mrs. Roosevelt's address will be found

(AFRO BUREAU)

WASHINGTON — One group cannot prosper while another is downtrodden, Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, wife of the President, told a mass meeting held in the Metropolitan A.M.E. Church last Sunday afternoon to give impetus to the membership campaign of the local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Mrs. Roosevelt was presented by Mrs. Robert G. McGuire, president of the local branch of the N.A.A.C.P., who presided at the meeting. After her address she remained to listen to the remarks of Walter F. White, of New York, secretary of the N.A.A.C.P., who paid tribute to her as a sincere friend of his people.

Escorted by Cadets

Mrs. Roosevelt was met and escorted from her automobile to the rostrum by three high-school cadets and John C. Bruce, chairman of the board of directors of the local branch, who walked up the aisle with her.

The First Lady said minority groups' women had to work hard for rights and privileges, and still women have to do certain things better than men to obtain the same recognition.

Didn't Say "Colored"

Considerate and kind, Mrs. Roosevelt did not use the word "Negro" or "colored." She said all of us in this country need to work for equality of wages and equality of opportunity, regardless of race, creed or color.

Mrs. F. D. for Anti-Lynch Bill

Mrs. Roosevelt said she had seen a great deal of the work of the N.A.A.C.P. and counted Secretary Walter White as a friend.

In return, Mr. White said that one of the best workers for the enactment of the anti-lynch bill was Mrs. Roosevelt.

Seek Three Thousand

With six hundred members now, the local N.A.A.C.P. is seeking three thousand membership. Its roll once totaled ten thousand. The drive began March 24 and will continue until May.

R. Todd Duncan, of the Howard University School of Music sang a solo. The choir sang under the direction of Miss Maude G. Smothers. Remarks were made by the Rev. W. H. Thomas, pastor of the Metropolitan A.M.E. Church. Invocation was offered by the Rev. R. A. Fairley, pastor of Tabor Presbyterian Church and benediction was pronounced by the Rev. R. W. Brooks, pastor of Lincoln Temple Congregational Church.

Jackson, Miss., News
April 11, 1935

A WORTH-WHILE NEGRO

Our hat is off in humble tribute to Rev. J. M. Williamson, negro preacher and teacher, who is touring Mississippi to combat the "Share the Wealth" and "Every Man A King" propaganda being widely spread among members of his race.

Williamson is a negro well worth knowing. He has a bushel basketful of brains in his old wooly head.

Nearly forty years ago Williamson refused the presidency of the Alcorn A. & M. College, tendered him by Governor McLaurin, because he believed then, as he believes now, that the hope of the negro is based on proper manual training and not college education.

"Regardless of what constitutions and court decisions may say, the negro is not ready for the ballot or jury service," asserts J. M. Williamson.

Unfortunately, this humble negro has only one voice and it is growing weak and feeble. He is doing the best he can to suppress the damnable propaganda being freely circulated among members of his race. He deserves every possible support and encouragement, even if his is only a voice in the wilderness.

Our Rural Problem

When the Negro who has been off to school reads in the newspapers about such horrible happenings as the running of a Negro dentist out of town, after burning his home and car, as was reported from a small Georgia community last week, it is certainly not unnatural for Negroes of training to steer clear of small towns and rural communities in the South. But the natural thing is not always the wise thing.

The problem of Negroes in the South still remains in a large measure the problem of Negroes in small towns and rural communities. A dentist from one of Texas' cities recently discovered a prosperous area where no Negro dentist lived within a radius of almost a hundred miles.

As long as most Negroes who go off to school flock to the cities and pass up the small towns and rural communities, just so long will the majority of the Negro population of the South have to do without the intelligent guidance which they must have in order to make sustained and permanent progress. And what happens to the rural and small-town Negroes of Texas will very largely take the measure of the city Negro as well.

No suggestion that the Courier will use its influence with Negro voters of the North to insure the franchise to Negroes of the South; no comment upon the fact that the statutory Democratic primary elections in Texas are public elections for all white people (Republicans, Democrats, and what nots may vote in them if their skin is white), and are conducted by public officials (by the county clerk in the Grovey Case); nothing except a veiled endorsement of the decision and the very poor advice to Texas Negroes to do nothing more than form a party of their own.

Let us hope that Mr. Vann was not afraid that he would offend his Democratic superiors and, perhaps, lose his fat job, if he should have said more.

Anderson, S. C., Independent Trib.
April 18, 1935

Southern Democrats Did Not Enjoy Mrs. Roosevelt's Talk To Negro Advancement League

Chief Executive's Wife Talks to Association for Advancement of Colored People on Their Duties in Voting, and Equal Opportunities.

WASHINGTON, April 17—Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt appears to have the disturbing faculty many leaders feel, of saying the wrong thing at the right time and as a consequence has placed herself, the President and the Administration in several hot spots since the Roosevelts have been in the White House. Southern Democrats regard most seriously her most recent 'boner' which is likely to cost the president many votes in the solid Democratic South when the general election is held in 1936.

Speaking before a gathering of Washington negroes here Sunday on behalf the membership campaign of the Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Mrs. Roosevelt stated that equal opportunities should be afforded everyone, regardless of race color or creed.

"I am convinced," Mrs. Roosevelt said, "that for a long time colored people to obtain recognition, must do as women had to do—a little better work than the standard performance. What all of us need to do," she said further, "is to work for equality of recognition for work which is done and equality of opportunity, regardless of race, color or creed.

"We shall make a beginning when we give equal educational opportunities to all. The next step to follow would be the granting of equal opportunities for employment. There is more hope than ever before of achievement of these purposes.

"It is well that colored people know how to use their franchise to obtain what they wish. I suggest that you make sure of thorough understanding of problems of government; that you make sure you know the persons for whom you vote, and what they stand for, rather than that you permit yourselves to be swayed by your emotions."

Walter A. White, secretary of the national association, paid tribute to Mrs. Roosevelt, praising her activity towards passage of the Wagner-Costigan anti-lynch bill.

LINDER AGAIN POINTS TO 'RIGHT TO SECEDE'

Commissioner Introduces Fear of 'Racial Equality' as Basis of Statement.

5-8-35

Striking out against racial equality, Tom Linder, commissioner of agriculture, yesterday reiterated "we still have the right to secede" if it comes to the question of "submitting to racial equality."

It was Linder who recently offered secession of Georgia from the Union as a possible method of ultimately settling differences between this state and the national administration, in an article he published in The Market Bulletin, his department's farm publication.

Asked to elaborate on this suggestion, Linder said it was "very plain what I meant." He added:

"In closing that article, I made reference to the fact that for the first time the white people of this state were called upon to march to the polls, side by side with the negroes, to vote in the democratic election on the Bankhead bill.

"Still Have Right.

"I further called attention to the decision of the supreme court in the Scottsboro case, requiring negroes to be put in the jury boxes, and I wound up by saying, "No question is ever settled until it is settled right. We still have the right to secede'.

"I think that clearly carries to the mind of any thinking person the idea that should conditions become extreme enough to demand it—for instance, should it come to the question of submitting to racial equality—we still have the right to secede."

Linder said he didn't believe there is "any courageous white man in Georgia who is the son, grandson, great-grandson of a Confederate soldier, who would resent this statement."

The commissioner said, in answer to a question, he did not infer that the national administration fostered racial equality.

"I am merely recognizing the fact that the supreme court of the United States rendered an opinion (in the Scottsboro case), which says in effect that a negro cannot be convicted of a crime against a white woman unless negroes are in the jury box to try him."

Following the same line of reasoning, he stated, the ruling would necessitate having a negro judge to try the case and negroes on the appellate courts to review the trial.

In his latest signed article in the Market Bulletin Linder this week encourages the farmers to "secede" from the processing tax on hogs, criticizes the processing tax on syrup and says Georgia growers have already "seceded" from the "guano trust fostered by Wall Street interests and the NRA."

Race Problem - 1935
United States.

Mrs. Roosevelt's Address to the NAACP in Washinaton

Women, Like Minority Groups, Have Had to Work Hard for Rights and Privileges. Nation Needs to Work for Equality of Wages and Opportunity for All. Antagonism Between Classes and Races Unprofitable. Equal Educational Opportunities Called the First Step. Voters Are Urged to Use Reason Instead of Sentiment at Polls. Don't Follow Leaders Blindly; Make Them Explain What They Are Doing.

Address of Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt to the Washington, D.C., branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People at the Metropolitan A.M.E. Church. Sunday afternoon, April 13, at 3 p.m.

Mrs. Roosevelt spoke as follows:

"I am very happy to be with you this afternoon and speak at this meeting because I have seen a good deal of the work which this association is doing and have come to count Mr. Walter White as one of my friends. I hope that he will agree that that is true. And so, I am glad to be with you this afternoon.

"Now, I asked a number of people what subject might interest you that I could talk about. I had a number of suggestions, and I finally decided to talk about something that has not been suggested to me at all but which I feel is of interest to me and perhaps would be of interest to you.

"The other day I was sent a report by a Government official—a colored man who had spent, I imagine, most of his life in the North and had gone to make a trip through the South. He sent me a report of his trip. I gave it to the President to read. I have a little habit of putting things I think worth while reading on the table next to the President's bed at night, so sometimes they get read.

Report "Interesting"

"Today when I said where I was coming, he said, 'It was a very interesting report I read the other night.' I said, 'Yes, I put it by your bed so you would read it.'

"I then proceeded to say that it was interesting for a man who had evidently lived most of his life in the North to get to know the problems of his own people in another part of the country.

EDITOR'S NOTE—The booklet referred to is a pamphlet describing his recent tour of the South by Dr. Wm. J. Thompkins, recorder of deeds of the District of Columbia.

"Now, I have felt for a very long time that all of us need to do that. We need—no matter what our race—to know the problems of all the people living in different parts of the country and living under different conditions.

Tries to Understand

"I have tried because I have had wide opportunities of meeting people and of traveling and knowing people in different places—I have tried to see all I could and to understand as far as I was able the problems of people in different parts of our country.

"Out of that has come—well, I do not know that it is a better understanding, but at least I have acquired certain convictions.

"For a long while I worked with women on bills that had to do with women and laws and conditions for women who work and for rights of women in different lines, and I have come to believe that what obtained as far as women were concerned, obtains also as far as various minority groups are concerned.

Must Do Things Better

"Women have had to work to obtain certain rights and certain privileges, and still women have to do certain things better than men to obtain the same recognition.

"Now, that same thing holds good where minority groups are concerned. Minority groups have to do things better in order to get the same recognition. But I think what all of us in this country need to do today is to work for equality of recognition for work which is rendered and for equality of opportunity regardless of race or religion or color.

No Immediate Equality

"Now, practically I know equality is not going to come immediately It is going to mean hard work to obtain equality of education, equality of opportunity. But the thing which I believe we want to bring home to people all the time is standards have got to be raised, and they must be raised all over the country for all the people.

"There is no use of raising them for one group of people because if in any community there is a group of people that are living below a certain standard, that are willing to live below a certain standard, that are receiving lower wages and therefore are forced to live below a certain standard—I do not care where it is—if that exists, it pulls down all the standards.

"It helps no one. It pulls everybody down to the lower level. Therefore, it is to the interest of all of us—and this is the purely practical argument—it is to the interest of all of us to see that standards are raised equally.

Must Have Same Chance

"Now, in order to raise standards equally people have got to have the same opportunities. They must be given as good a chance at an education and as good a chance at earning a living.

"I think that probably that for certain groups in this country that are minorities their members will have to give more in the way of ability and training in order to get the same equality of pay just as women have to always give more in order to get the same amount of pay. But in time I hope we will grow to a real equality. In the meantime, I think we all of us who are interested in the future good of the country must work for better conditions and better opportunities.

Tells of Ga. Experience

"As you know I go every year for a time to Georgia. Last year I had a most interesting experience. Mr. Benjamin Hubert, who is a very fine man, came to see me and tell me about a part of Georgia where he had established a colony, and a very successful colony.

"At the same time a young girl, who was superintendent of schools, came to tell me of her difficulties in the schools that came under her jurisdiction. The salaries were pitiable, impossible in fact, and the schools everywhere were suffering from lack of supplies. lack of books, and it was extremely difficult to give even a minimum of education which they are expected to give.

Menace to Whites

"Now, that does not obtain—thank goodness—everywhere in the country. But I do think that the thing which I want to preach wherever I can is the fact that not giving an equal opportunity for education is not a menace to you so much as it is a menace to us because if you do not know how to live, and live well, why it is going to do the whole country harm.

"Therefore, while it is my job, I consider, to stress that wherever I can, I hope it is going to be your job to stress the obligation on your part to do the best work you can and to take advantage of every opportunity that does come your way, which is a good opportunity.

"I had a very interesting time with a man the other day who came to tell me he thought I was a visionary. He thought I was not practical.

"He said he had gone to live among the people who worked in his coal mine and when he had sent up a bath tub for his own cabin, the people who took it up said it must be to scald hogs. Later he tried to put in bath tubs in various places and one day he walked in and the people were using the bath tub—you probably have heard this story before—he found the bath tub used for coal and they told him they did not know what else it was used for.

Not for Everyone

"And he said 'I understand you believe that everybody should have these decencies of life. Now it is quite useless to try to give them to everybody and I think you are making a great mistake in thinking everyone should be given certain advantages.'

"I pointed out to him that in order to know how to enjoy things perhaps you have to be taught how to use them if you had never been given a chance, and his mistake had been in not explaining—not having any community education in the place where he was living.

Jealous of One Another

"He said, he didn't think that would work because everybody there was jealous and while they might be quite willing to have them do something for them they did not want you to do it for their neighbor.

"I pointed out again that perhaps a good many of us are like that and a great many of us would be like that if we had little opportunity to have any decencies and luxuries of life.

"So, he finally said, 'What would you advise me to do?'

"And I said I would start with a nursery school and after you have had the nursery school for ten years under a really good teacher you would have no trouble in your community in having everybody know how to use the things which you choose to make popular for them to have, and you will find your community spirit through interest in the children had grown imperceptibly and instead of being jealous of each other they would all want to have everybody else around them have the same things.

All Must Profit

"They would have grasped the fact that for any group or any individual to want something just for himself and want to keep some other group or individual from having the same thing kept them down as well, that they never can rise as high alone as they can if everybody around them profited in the same way.

"That is the only way I feel we must progress in this country There is no use in allowing to grow up a spirit of antagonisms between classes and races and religions. We are here. We have got to live together and we have got to live to our mutual advantage, and only as we live to our mutual advantage will we be better off.

"It is very necessary, for instance, right here in the District that the health of the people as far as tuberculosis is concerned be carefully watched not only for

the advantage of those who perhaps suffer the most from tuberculosis but for the advantage of the whole population of the District. And that goes right on through everything in our lives.

Work for Good Will

"I feel very strongly that those of us who have good-will towards each other can work together and gradually have that good-will grow. I want very much to see us begin by really giving equal educational opportunities.

"I feel that if we can do that the next step of getting equal opportunity for work, which is, of course—I know and you know—one of the difficulties you are up against, will come, I hope, in the same way that many other things come — gradually through not only your education but our education.

Problems Joint Ones

"I think that there is hope before us today as there never was before because more people are beginning to realize that problems are community problems, are joint problems, that one group cannot prosper where another group is downtrodden.

"It seems to me that is perhaps the most hopeful spirit and the most hopeful idea that is spreading today in this country — the realization that we must depend upon each other and that there cannot exist anywhere any group of people who are really living in a sub-standard way without dragging down the health and morals and the entire general condition of the community as a whole.

"Now, you have great power in this country. You have learned to work politically and it is necessary to use your franchise intelligently to obtain the things that you wish to obtain. But make sure that you really study the problems of government. Make sure that you know the people that you vote for and what they really stand for. Make sure that you are not swayed by emotions but that you really use your reason when you vote.

Did Not Understand

"Too many of us in this country have not always understood the problems before us and have voted without taking the trouble — this not any one group, I am talking about all of us because we all do this — too many of us have not realized that in a democracy for successful government you have really got to take your own share of the responsibility as an individual. You cannot leave it to somebody else to do for you.

"You cannot blindly follow any leader. Follow a leader, but make him explain to you so that you understand what it is you are doing. Do not just take anybody's say so.

Believes in Leadership

"I believe in leadership, but I believe that the leaders have an obligation to make the people who follow them understand what it is they are asking them to do and why they are asking them to do it.

"What I ask of you is to really study the problems of government and to look at your candidates and the measures you work for from the point of view of the good of people as a whole. Think of your own interest because you must, but realize that gradually we must all progress together and that as you progress to equality you must at the same time see that everyone else in your community progresses to equality.

Advance All of Community

"It is not a good thing to work so hard for your own interest that you sometimes forget that there are others that are suffering too. So keep in mind that you want the good of the whole community and use every possible means to advance your own people in the right way and all the other people that live in your community.

"Now, I know in the District to talk about voting is perhaps superfluous. But many of you probably live in places where people do vote. Even if you live in the District and do not vote your point of view and your intelligence and your touch with the people who have contact with the government, who are working in the government, will make a tremendous difference.

Words Can Help

"It is quite extraordinary to me what the effect can be of a criticism or a word of approval to a man who is working in the Government in any way from the people round about him.

"So I hope that we together — those of us who are here today and the others who belong to your association and the others who have interest with me in the good of the country as a whole and all its people — will continue to work with the idea that the good of this country can be furthered by our efforts and that we can live together with interest and affection for each other and further the good of all of us."

Mrs. Roosevelt's Speech

CONSIDERABLE significance is always attached to what the wife of any President of the United States says because, in her official position, she is the "First Lady" of the land. But when Mrs. FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT speaks it is an occasion of double importance because she is not only official "First Lady," but an outstanding and remarkably admirable personality as well.

One thing that helps to account for the tremendous popularity of the ROOSEVELTS is the directness, the force and the frankness of speech which have characterized their utterings—a quality that has been conspicuously missing around the White House for years. Hence, it is worthwhile to point out again a few of the statements Mrs. ROOSEVELT made before a mass meeting of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Washington, and reported in the news columns of the JOURNAL AND GUIDE last week.

There was nothing new about the declarations of Mrs. ROOSEVELT, for they embodied truths that have come to be regarded as axioms in the philosophy of social and economic justice. But they were given a new impetus and speeded toward universal acceptation because of the unequivocal approval given them by Mrs. ROOSEVELT.

The late BOOKER T. WASHINGTON once remarked that you cannot keep a man down in the gutter without staying down there with him. That truth often has been reiterated in these columns to demonstrate the suicidal fallacy adhered to largely in the South that the plight of the black man is inconsequential in the nation's progress. Along that line Mrs. ROOSEVELT said:

> "It seems to me that it is perhaps the most hopeful spirit and the most hopeful idea that is spreading today in this country—the realization that we must depend upon each other and that there cannot exist anywhere any group of people who are really living in a sub-standard way without dragging down the health and morals and the entire general condition of the community as a whole."

Mutual understanding and cooperation are necessary for the working out of the salvation of a nation such as ours, thinks the "First Lady." But she realizes, as all sane and sound-minded people realize, that this cannot come about overnight. It must have its incipiency in a small group and penetrate very gradually into the general population. This can come about, she says, through education. And as the JOURNAL AND GUIDE has often pointed out, the only real and lasting progress in race relations has been accomplished through education.

> "There is no use in allowing to grow up a spirit of antagonisms between classes and races and religions," declared Mrs. ROOSEVELT. "We are here. We have got to live together and we have got to live to our mutual advantage, and only as we live to our mutual advantage will we be better off."

"I feel strongly," she asserted, "that those of us who have good-will towards each other can work together and gradually have that good-will grow. I want very much to see us begin by really giving equal educational opportunities. I feel that if we can do that the next step of getting equal opportunity for work, which is, of course—I know and you know—one of the difficulties you are up against, will come, I hope, in the same way that many other things come—gradually through not only your education but our education."

With so accurate and so forceful an understanding of the Negro's greatest problems emanating from so respected a source, we think with Mrs. ROOSEVELT "that there is hope before us today as there never was before because more people are beginning to realize that problems are community problems, are joint problems, that one group cannot prosper where another is downtrodden."

The South At Washington

Georgia says, through Governor Talmadge, that it will be a national calamity if President Roosevelt is renominated and reelected to the presidency, Alabama' lays plans to render null and void the Scottsboro cases. South Carolina talks in terms of secession. Louisiana threatens revolt if President Roosevelt does not let Huey Long have his way. Governor Allred tells a Senate committee that Texas will never submit to Federal control of oil production. Southern senators filibuster the anti-lynching bill. To what end and purpose these rumblings at Washington from the South?

Through it all it can be clearly seen that the Negro is the bone of contention. If the Roosevelt program of improving the lot of the "forgotten man" succeeds, the South fears that its exploitation of its Negro one-third cannot continue in all its pristine vigor. Otherwise the backward South would want the Roosevelt program. Rather than give the Negro a break the politicians of the South would keep this section backward.

Columbus, Miss. Dispatch
March 24, 1935

WITH OTHER EDITORS

HUEY AND OSCAR

(Jackson Daily News)

MISSISSIPPI members of Huey Long's "Share the Wealth" organization ought to be highly delighted to learn that it has been given a cordial endorsement by Oscar DePriest, former negro Republican Congressman from Illinois, and social equality advocate. DePriest's name is being used in soliciting memberships among negroes. In a recent interview in New Orleans, he gave enthusiastic endorsement to the activities of the Kingfish in the following language:

"Senator Long has released the negro from the bonds of political slavery in the South by passing an act which does not make it necessary for them to pay poll taxes. This is our first step toward political freedom and the exercise of our rights that have been guaranteed to us. We are entitled to business, political, and social freedom. You have gotten your first step with the registering of negroes now in New Orleans. Also, write a letter to Oscar DePriest expressing what you want. Also, write a letter to Oscar DePriest expressing what you want. The tending to him the right hand of fellowship with the votes. The votes and can Senator Long has should remember our "Share the Wealth" on your coat lapel at avoid the rush.

the advantage of those who perhaps suffer the most from tuberculosis but for the advantage of the whole population of the District. And that goes right on through everything in our lives.

Work for Good Will

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"I think that there is hope before us today as there never was before because more people are beginning to realize that problems are community problems are joint problems, that one group cannot prosper where another group is downtrodden.

"It seems to me that is perhaps the most hopeful spirit and the most hopeful idea that is spreading today in this country — the realization that we must depend upon each other and that there cannot exist anywhere any group of people who are really living in a sub-standard way without dragging down the health and morals and the entire general condition of the community as a whole.

"Now, you have great power in this country. You have learned to work politically and it is necessary to use your franchise intelligently to obtain the things that you wish to obtain. But make sure that you really study the problems of government. Make sure that you know the people that you vote for and what they really stand for. Make sure that you are not swayed by emotions but that you really use your reason when you vote.

Did Not Understand

"Too many of us in this country have not always understood the problems before us and have voted without taking the trouble — this not any one group, I am talking about all of us because we all do this — too many of us have not realized that in a democracy for successful government you have really got to take your own share of the responsibility as an individual. You can not leave it to somebody else to do for you.

"You cannot blindly follow any leader. Follow a leader, but make him explain to you so that you understand what it is you are doing. Do not just take anybody's say so.

Believes in Leadership

"I believe in leadership, but I believe that the leaders have an obligation to make the people who follow them understand what it is they are asking them to do and why they are asking them to do it.

"What I ask of you is to really study the problems of government and to look at your candidates and the measures you work for from the point of view of the good of people as a whole. Think of your own interest because you must, but realize that gradually we must all progress together and that as you progress to equality you must at the same time see that everyone else in your community progresses to equality.

Advance All of Community

"It is not a good thing to work so hard for your own interest that you sometimes forget that there are others that are suffering too. So keep in mind that you want the good of the whole community and use every possible means to advance your own people in the right way and all the other people that live in your community.

"Now, I know in the District to talk about voting is perhaps superfluous. But many of you probably live in places where people do vote. Even if you live in the District and do not vote your point of view and your intelligence and your touch with the people who have contact with the government, who are working in the government, will make a tremendous difference.

Words Can Help

"It is quite extraordinary to me what the effect can be of a criticism or a word of approval to a man who is working in the Government in any way from the people round about him.

"So I hope that we together — those of us who are here today and the others who belong to your association and the others who have interest with me in the good of the country as a whole and all its people — will continue to work with the idea that the good of this country can be furthered by our efforts and that we can live together with interest and affection for each other and further the good of all of us."

Mrs. Roosevelt's Speech

CONSIDERABLE significance is always attached to what the wife of any President of the United States says because, in her official position, she is the "First Lady" of the land. But when Mrs. FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT speaks it is an occasion of double importance because she is not only official "First Lady," but an outstanding and remarkably admirable personality as well.

One thing that helps to account for the tremendous popularity of the ROOSEVELTS is the directness, the force and the frankness of speech which have characterized their utterings—a quality that has been conspicuously missing around the White House for years. Hence, it is worthwhile to point out again a few of the statements Mrs. ROOSEVELT made before a mass meeting of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Washington, and reported in the news columns of the JOURNAL AND GUIDE last week.

There was nothing new about the declarations of Mrs. ROOSEVELT, for they embodied truths that have come to be regarded as axioms in the philosophy of social and economic justice. But they were given a new impetus and speeded toward universal acceptation because of the unequivocal approval given them by Mrs. ROOSEVELT.

The late BOOKER T. WASHINGTON once remarked that you cannot keep a man down in the gutter without staying down there with him. That truth often has been reiterated in these columns to demonstrate the suicidal fallacy adhered to largely in the South that the plight of the black man is inconsequential in the nation's progress. Along that line Mrs. ROOSEVELT said:

> "It seems to me that it is perhaps the most hopeful spirit and the most hopeful idea that is spreading today in this country—the realization that we must depend upon each other and that there cannot exist anywhere any group of people who are really living in a sub-standard way without dragging down the health and morals and the entire general condition of the community as a whole."

Mutual understanding and cooperation are necessary for the working out of the salvation of a nation such as ours, thinks the "First Lady." But she realizes, as all sane and sound-minded people realize, that this cannot come about overnight. It must have its incipiency in a small group and penetrate very gradually into the general population. This can come about, she says, through education. And as the JOURNAL AND GUIDE has often pointed out, the only real and lasting progress in race relations has been accomplished through education.

> "There is no use in allowing to grow up a spirit of antagonisms between classes and races and religions," declared Mrs. ROOSEVELT. "We are here. We have got to live together and we have got to live to our mutual advantage, and only as we live to our mutual advantage will we be better off."

"I feel strongly," she asserted, "that those of us who have good-will towards each other can work together and gradually have that good-will grow. I want very much to see us begin by really giving equal educational opportunities. I feel that if we can do that the next step of getting equal opportunity for work, which is, of course—I know and you know—one of the difficulties you are up against, will come, I hope, in the same way that many other things come—gradually through not only your education but our education."

With so accurate and so forceful an understanding of the Negro's greatest problems emanating from so respected a source, we think with Mrs. ROOSEVELT "that there is hope before us today as there never was before because more people are beginning to realize that problems are community problems, are joint problems, that one group cannot prosper where another is downtrodden."

The South At Washington

Georgia says, through Governor Talmadge, that it will be a national calamity if President Roosevelt is renominated and reelected to the presidency, Alabama' lays plans to render null and void the Scottsboro cases. South Carolina talks in terms of secession. Louisiana threatens revolt if President Roosevelt does not let Huey Long have his way. Governor Allred tells a Senate committee that Texas will never submit to Federal control of oil production. Southern senators filibuster the anti-lynching bill. To what end and purpose these rumblings at Washington from the South?

Through it all it can be clearly seen that the Negro is the bone of contention. If the Roosevelt program of improving the lot of the "forgotten man" succeeds, the South fears that its exploitation of its Negro one-third cannot continue in all its pristine vigor. Otherwise the backward South would want the Roosevelt program. Rather than give the Negro a break the politicians of the South would keep this section backward.

Columbus, Miss. Dispatch
March 24, 1935

WITH OTHER EDITORS

HUEY AND OSCAR

(Jackson Daily News)

MISSISSIPPI members of Huey Long's "Share the Wealth" organization ought to be highly delighted to learn that it has been given a cordial endorsement by Oscar DePriest, former negro Republican Congressman from Illinois, and social equality advocate. DePriest's name is being used in soliciting memberships among negroes. In a recent interview in New Orleans, he gave enthusiastic endorsement to the activities of the Kingfish in the following language:

"Senator Long has released the negro from the bonds of political slavery in the South by passing an act which does not make it necessary for them to pay poll taxes. This is our first step toward political freedom and the exercise of our rights that have been guaranteed to us. We are entitled to business, political, and social freedom. You have gotten your first step with the registering of negroes now in

Orleans, you can accomplish what you want. Also, write a letter to Oscar DePriest expressing your appreciation for his endorsement of Senator Long's "Share the Wealth" plan. Senator Long's strength is with the votes. The tending to him the right hand of fellowship. is with the votes and can ve the votes and can t. Senator Long has should remember our

"Senator Long has released the negro from the bonds of political slavery in the South by negroes in this state have t passing an act which does not make it necessary make their strength felt. for them to pay poll taxes. This is our first been our friend and we sho step toward political freedom and the exercise of friends."

our rights that have been guaranteed to us. You can still buy Huey's "S We are entitled to business, political, and social celluloid buttons to wear in freedom. You have gotten your first step and one dollar each.

with the registering of negroes now in New Send in your money and av

Race Problem - 1935.

United States.

COVINGTON NEWS says an old citizen of that county said recently he wished Commissioner Tom Linder would stop talking about seceding. The only thing he does is to expose his ignorance. "I was here to see Georgia reap the fruits of the other effort to secede. Whites were herded to the polls by Negro soldiers with muskets and bayonets. Negroes voted in every election in Georgia until 1908. Tom should read some history to see what suffering came from efforts to secede."

Defending papers say the word was misused by Tom—that he didn't mean what he said.

STATE FARM HEAD URGES 'SECESSION'

Tom Linder Fills Two Pages of Bulletin With Attacks on F. D. R.

Secession of Georgia from the Union as a way possibly to settle difficulties between this state and the Washington administration was suggested yesterday by Tom Linder, commissioner of agriculture.

This hint was published in an article signed by Linder and carried in the Market Bulletin, official organ of the state department of agriculture, which goes to thousands of Georgia farmers.

While Governor Talmadge's lieutenant was blasting away at the administration, the Wayne county grand jury, at Jesup, was condemning "unwarranted attacks" on President Roosevelt and his program. The Lincoln county grand jury also passed resolutions "viewing with alarm" the fight on the processing tax and commending Secretary Wallace for his sympathy with the cotton producer.

The commissioner filled more than two full pages of the Bulletin in tirades against President Roosevelt and Commissioner of Agriculture Wallace.

Charges that the president is following the socialist and republican platforms rather than democratic policies were matched by a pointed attack on Wallace, who Linder said addressed only employes of the AAA on his his recent visit to Atlanta.

Republicans Blamed.

He charged that the processing taxes on farm products were conceived by the republicans and that curtailment of farm production was similar to the Russian system of controlling producers.

"It is clear that we have carried out some of the principal provisions of the republican platform, which called for a retention of higher protective tariffs and the levying of processing taxes or some form of compensatory tax to fool the producers of raw materials into thinking they were getting a square deal," Linder wrote.

He said the socialist and republican parties advocated race equality, that the democratic party was "supposed to be the white man's party" but it had "wandered" away.

The commissioner criticized the United States supreme court's ruling in the Scottsboro case, in which the conviction of negroes for an assault on two white women was reversed because the names of negroes were not in the jury boxes.

"Remember, no question is ever settled until it is settled right," he wrote. "We still have the right to secede."

Talmadge Overseeing Farm.

Between rounds of taking verbal slaps at the Washington administration and watching over his own state's affairs, Governor Eugene Talmadge is making a busy spring of it overseeing his farming interests.

In central Georgia near Forsyth, on the old Talmadge homestead, he has about 400 acres of fertile land under pasturage, and growing cattle are grazing lazily on wild clover.

"They're getting fat and looking mighty fine," the governor commented yesterday after a trip to the farm.

He has 200 head of cattle in Monroe and Telfair counties and is contemplating buying more to fatten for the market. On a recent trip to Forsyth he looked over some steers and heifers owned by Frank B. Willingham, solicitor of the Flint superior court circuit.

"I want to buy 25 of those young-sters," Talmadge told him. "Talk fast, because I'm in the market."

He has just embarked some chickens in Monroe and said he planned to raise some pheasants.

"This business of farming is something else," he said. "You've got to sit by it."

To Speak at Augusta.

He announced yesterday he had accepted an invitation to speak in Augusta May 16 at the bicentennial celebration and participate in a "Georgia Day" pageant.

The invitation was given him by Mayor Richard E. Allen Jr., who told him over the telephone that arrangements would be made for him to address a crowd prior to the pageant.

Talmadge did not say on what subject he would speak, but it was presumed that he would deal with the Roosevelt administration since May 16 comes in the midst of his southern tour against the cotton processing tax.

As he made this engagement, Tom Linder, commissioner of agriculture, close political friend of the governor, was busy arranging other speaking dates for Talmadge.

Members of the governor's force said invitations were coming in fast from various sections of the country.

WAYNE JURY CONDEMNS ATTACKS ON ADMINISTRATION

JESUP, Ga., April 24.—(AP)—The Wayne county grand jury today condemned "unwarranted attacks" on President Roosevelt and his recovery program.

Resolutions adopted by the body did not specifically name Governor Talmadge but denounced references made by him on the president's physical condition and also implications that the relief program was instigated for political purposes.

The resolutions read in part:

"Whereas the present federal administration, through the leadership of our great president, Franklin D. Roosevelt, has inaugurated many and sundry movements tending toward the betterment of the social and financial status of our country, the administration of which has been on solely an honest, unbiased and merciful basis, free of political chicanery and unscrupulous dictation, and

"Whereas, this grand jury deplores and condemns the continued attacks on our president's policies and efforts, especially the implication that the relief program for recovery purposes was instigated for political motives, and especially do we condemn any reference to our president's physical infirmities, as made by politicians and others for no well-founded purpose, and

"Therefore, we, the Wayne county grand jurors of the April term 1935, hereby and herewith go on record as approving our great president's program and deplore and condemn the unwarranted attacks made on him and his policies during this recovery period."

LINCOLN GRAND JURY COMMENDS WALLACE

AUGUSTA, Ga., April 24.—(AP)—The grand jury of Lincoln county, viewing with alarm the nation-wide effort to remove the process tax levied upon raw cotton," today passed a resolution in the form of a letter to Secretary of Agriculture Wallace urging that "every effort be made to prevent this backward step in the cotton industry and in the national recovery program."

The resolution commended "our secretary for his evident sympathy with the cotton producer and interest in his problems" and urged "our representatives in the national congress to staunchly oppose every effort to remove this protective principle established for the benefit of agriculture and thus to avoid precipitation of our great southern industry into the chaotic condition which marked it two years ago."

Copies of the resolution were ordred to be addressed to Senators George and Russell and Representative Paul Brown.

REVOLUTIONS WILL NOT AID RACE PROBLEM

Roy Wilkins Says Negro Must Be Alert and Militant

The methods of riot and revolution are not advisable for the Negro in solving his social and economic problems, declared Roy Wilkins, assistant secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People before the Kansas City Forum, Sunday at the Paseo Baptist church.

His subject was "Riots and Revolution."

This was the first address made by Mr. Wilkins in Kansas City since he left here four years ago, resigning as news editor of THE CALL to join the staff of the N.A.A.C.P. He is also editor of The Crisis, official organ of the association.

Devices of Oppression

Tracing the history of the Negro in this country he pointed out that many devices of oppression have been created all along the line since slave days until the present time for the purpose of keeping the Negro under control, docile and easy to handle. He said, "The slave was merely a machine for producing profit and even after emancipation the problem was to keep him in that condition."

"Humiliation and discrimination are used as a device to make the Negroes feel that they belong to a proscribed area. If they can be impressed with this idea long enough they will come to believe it as true, "Mr. Wilkins said. Other methods of oppression are keeping Negroes ignorant and disfranchised, he pointed out.

Lynching, Favorite Device

"The favorite device is lynching when other methods fail," he added. As part of the scheme, he cited the Ku Klux Klan and night riders of the south to keep the Negro cowed, not so much because he is black but in order to keep him as an easy accessible reservoir of cheap labor. The same is true of whites in mine districts. They have been clubbed and shot for the same reason Negroes are terrorized.

He recalled the lynching of Claude Neal in Florida last October and said it was ostensibly to avenge the death of a white girl, but in reality because Negroes were on relief rolls or working while hundreds of whites were suffering.

"What is the remedy"? he asked. "Not revolution because the history of revolutions started by the Negro have ended unsuccessfully. Not conciliation, or what some of us call 'Uncle Tomming' because that method is simply to get along with the white folks without offending them.

"The other remedy is a middle ground militancy which is the program of the NA.A.C.P."

He said that it is inadvisable for Negroes to adopt the methods of riots because immediately it will be branded as "Negro."

'Psychology of War'

We must become aware and alert as to what our difficulties are and must fight our battles with the psychology of war," he concluded.

He gave a graphic picture of the recent riot in Harlem caused by economic inequality and hunger.

The program was arranged by Beta Lambda chapter of the Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity in its observance of "Citizenship Week." The Kansas City forum gave over their meeting for the program.

Invocation was by the Rev. D. A. Holmes, pastor of the Paseo Baptist church. Mrs. Rita K. Ashby, secretary of the forum, read the minutes of the previous meeting. Roy Dorsey, chairman of the program committee made a few remarks after which Byron Mason, tenor, sang a vocal number. Miss Hurda Miller played a piano selection.

L. Amasa Knox, attorney, introduced Mr. Wilkins and the response was made by Mack Spears, president of the local chapter of the Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity. The meeting was opened by remarks from Dr. A. Franklin Radford, president of the forum. Thomas A. Webster, executive secretary of the Urban League was master of ceremonies.

Reading White Newspapers

Two brothers down in Mississippi, who for fourteen years have read the Black Dispatch, are in doubt as to whether they should continue to read white newspapers. One of these brothers has written the Black Dispatch asking that this writer settle the question for them.

We are printing a portion of the Mississippi correspondence:

"My brother and I have gone 50-50 in subscribing to newspapers and periodicals over quite a number of years. Our first white paper we subscribed to—the Memphis Commercial Appeal—became so brazen in its anti-Negro policy, and finally after the editor openly seemed to condone the Ell Persons lynching, we became indignant and ordered our subscription stopped.

"Later we subscribed to the Atlanta Constitution another white daily, but after a year and a half decided it was a little too anti-Negro to spend our money, so we let our subscription lapse.

"Our next try was the Jackson Daily News. But after the infamous editor went on several anti-Negro rampages, cursed out the N. A. A. C. P., called Perry Howard a 'saddle-colored nigger,' threatened the editors of the Crisis, condoned the Walter Burley legal lynching, championed the candidacy of Russell Ellzy (who ran on a straight anti-Negro, anti-Perry Howard platform) for congressman from the 7th Congressional district, we again became disgusted with southern journalism and ordered our subscription stopped.

"Last, but not least, we entered our subscription to the Clarion Ledger. We find it to be typical Southern anti-Negro.

Now, my brother and I have reached the 'parting of ways.' As for me, the two inclosed editorials, entitled, 'Judge Johnson Favors Free School Books for White Children' and 'Two U. S. Court Decisions,' is the 'straw that broke the camel's back.' I am all up in the air and about to have our subscription stopped. I am too proud to spend my money with anyone known to be a sworn enemy of my race. On the other hand, my brother argues that we should sacrifice our manhood to that extent in order to keep abreast of the trend of white public sentiment.

"He further says that to drop one southern daily to subscribe for another would only be a case of swapping the devil for the witch. He says the knowledge of what is taking place in the cranium of our racial enemies is worth more to us than the few paltry dollars we pay for their paper would be worth to them, and that in the end we have the better part of the bargain.

"Now, Mr. Dunjee, what do you think about it? Which do you side with, my brother or me?

"He esteems your opinions and editorials as highly as I, and is equally as anxious as I to have you straighten us out on this matter.

"Would you spend your money with a paper that you knew to be your sworn enemy?"

Now here is a problem which vexes and perplexes millions of Negroes. White newspapers always highpoint the evil and vices among Negroes as characterized in their headlines about crime committed by black citizens and their utter silence regarding the virtue to be found within Negro ranks causes many men and women of color to feel white publications should be barred from their homes.

This is a mistaken notion. Every Negro in America should learn to read, and read with care, every newspaper he can place his hands upon. Here is what we have to say to our Missisippi friend in answer to his query:

"I am of the opinion that your brother has the correct view. If you are going to improve on your condition in Mississippi it is going to be important that you know what the other fellow plans to do. There are two old expressions that I believe might settle this question for you; one is: 'Fore-warned is fore-armed.' The other is: 'Whom the gods would destroy, they first make mad.'

It should be clear to you that under the conditions which you are living you should not lose your temper or remain in ignorance as to the civil and political program that is being built up around you every day.

"To give you an idea of how I see your picture, I would like to state that I take every white paper published in my town. Every day such newspapers publish a type of propaganda repugnant to my viewpoint, but I must know what white people are doing if I am going to combat it. I have a radio, but I did not purchase one until I found out that men were making speeches over the radio out of line with my philosophy and notion, and speeches that I could not get through my newspapers; and so I bought a radio, not because I wanted to hear the beautiful music coming over the air, but the bad things the other fellow was saying abou which I needed to be warned.

"I don't entirely agree, however, with your brother in his statement that you are sacrificing a certain portion of your manhood when you subscribe for white publications. From my viewpoint, such action is an intelligent expression of manhood. Take, for instance, the editorial you have sent me regarding the education of the white youth in Mississippi, which very obviously and intentionally excludes the Negro child from the picture. How would you know how hard you had to fight for Negro education unless you knew how hard white people were fighting against it? How would you know how to demand an equal amount in education for the Negro unless you knew the exact amount the white child is getting? When a man goes out in the civil world to fight for a race he must arm himself with facts just as a man would arm himself with a gun if he were going out to fight lions. White newspapers give you the opportunity, down in Mississippi, and everywhere, to arm yourself with facts which later may be used to your advantage.

"In conclusion, I would like to say that it is always far more important for the slave to know more about his master than the master knows about the slave. You have to know when he intends to strike so that you may dodge the blow. This type of worry never concerns the master."

Congressman Mitchell Says Negro Must Aid in Solving Own Problems

Pleading with fellow members of his race to be more dependent upon themselves, Arthur W. Mitchell, of Chicago, representative of the first congressional district of Illinois and only negro in the present house of congress, Tuesday night at the concluding session of the Golden Jubilee services of Morris Brown College at Big Bethel church said the negro must assist in working out the problem by which he can live in comfort, ease and safety among the dominating race.

"The general trend of the negro race has been upward and Morris Brown College has contributed materially to that advancement of instilling in its students the knowledge of how to render service and where to render it," Congressman Mitchell said.

Commenting on the problems of negro education, the congressman said that a serious responsibility rests on the shoulders of the educated negroes, for though their acquired and cultivated knowledge has equipped them for higher positions they will not find the attitude of rulers friendly. He said it was the responsibility of the negro to change that attitude through a display of sound judgment. "A negro must learn to give and take," he said.

"We've got to be sensible and not only get along with the white man, but teach the white man to get along with us. Maybe there are occasions when the white man won't want us, but we'll want him. The democratic party, many of our race have said, didn't want us, but we found out we wanted the democratic party. The republican party didn't have a thing to offer. So, we found it was time to be sensible and tear ourselves away from old traditions and prejudices," he said.

Negroes are expecting too much from Washington, he said. And also are expecting too much from laws. "Laws do not cure evils, but Christian education will cure them."

When announcement was made of a fund-raising campaign in which it is hoped $50,000 will be raised for Morris Brown College, $1,000 for each year of the institution's existence, Congressman Mitchell donated $25.

Congressman Mitchell was welcomed to Atlanta in an address delivered by Luke Arnold, secretary to Mayor James L. Key, who was unable to attend the ceremonies because of inclement weather.

Other speakers who appeared on the program were Bishop W. A. Fountain, chairman of the board of trustees of Morris Brown College; Rev. J. L. Butler, pastor of St. Philips A. M. E. church, Savannah; Rev. J. N. Nabrit, president of the state Baptist convention; Dr. S. H. Archer, president of Morehouse College; J. B. Blayton, president of the negro chamber of commerce, and Jesse O. Thomas, field secretary of the National Urban League, who introduced Mitchell.

CHARLOTTE, N. C.
NEWS

JUL 12 1935

Law After Sunset.

One certain Constable C. C. Wisenhunt, of South Carolina, with that ghastly and tense after-calm that comes from rising up in church and interrupting the sermon, has invaded Horry county's "no-nigger land" cloaked in the majesty of the law. With it he whipped and flayed and violated the ancient traditions. In his wake he leaves sixteen white men under bond for routing out the Negroes in a recent and supposedly not unusual uprising.

That is the territory which has become known widely for its extreme "white supremacy" convictions. Negroes may enter, it has been said, but if they remain after sunset it is at their own peril. Horry county has made itself distinctive in this regard.

And now comes Constable Wisenhunt to walk roughshod through the time-hallowed traditions. The man must think the constitution applies in Horry county, too.

Race Problem - 1935
United States.

To Be or Not To Be—Negroes

By CYRIL BRIGGS

To be or not to be Negroes!

Around this question, about as aimless as that of which came first, the chicken or the egg, certain groups of upper class Negroes are conducting a widespread agitation.

These people have spun the theory that the oppression of the Negro people arises out of the race designation, **Negro.** It is this designation that degrades the Negro people, they contend—not the conditions imposed upon the Negroes by the lynch rulers!

As "proof" of their contention they point to the chauvinist distortion of **Negro** into "nigger"—a term correctly objectionable to the Negro people and to the revolutionary white and Negro workers. They trace the contemptuous "nigger" of the slave drivers to the Latin word "niger" (black) used by Portuguese explorers of the 15th century to designate the black people of West Africa.

They Neglected

They neglect to tell us, however, the source of "darkey," "coons."

Surely these terms did not derive from "niger," but were exclusively the creation of the arrogant white ruling class of the old slave empire of the South for the people whose unrequitted labor enabled them to live in idleness and luxury.

They seriously maintain that by dropping the racial designation, **Negro,** the Negro people can escape or, at least, lighten their oppression. Simply let Negroes stop calling themselves Negroes, and presto! their bonds will be broken! This is their magic formula, their slavish substitute for the national-revolutionary liberation struggle.

This fantastic theory has penetrated deeply into the ranks of the Negro masses. It has influenced even some class-conscious Negro workers. It has given rise to a confused babel of proposed substitutes for "Negro." These range from Afro-Americans, Ethiopians, colored people, etc., to the vague designation of "race citizens," "race men and women," advocated by the Chicago Defender and used in its columns to the exclusion of "Negro." At least one Negro paper has adopted the still more vague designation, "Our Group."

Outgrowth of Wrong Theory

This theory is the outgrowth of another theory spun by Negro reformist leaders: that Negroes are oppressed and persecuted merely because of the color of their skin. In the same family is the reactionary myth (peddled by Dr. DuBois, Schuyler, etc.) of a solid white world unitedly aligned against the Negro people, and the idea of a mythical, non-existent "colored race" comprising all the darker peoples (the pro-Japanese Pacific Movement of the Eastern World, which is also known in some sections of the country as the Society for the Development of Our Own).

These false and reactionary theories clearly give objective aid and support to the imperialist oppressors of the Negro people. The object of their creators is to head off the rising resistance of the Negro masses to jim-crow oppression and to divert their indignation into reformist channels harmless to the enemy. Another purpose of these theoreticians is to smash the solidarity of Negro and white workers which, under the bold, correct leadership of the Communist Party is developing in numerous joint struggles against their common oppressors.

Deny Class Struggle

These theories deny in effect the class struggle by lumping together the opposing camps of the working-class and its exploiters, the ruling class of bankers, industrialists and rich landowners. They serve to cover up the burning questions—the life and death struggles—confronting the oppressed Negro people, thereby hampering the national-revolutionary struggle for land freedom, equality. They seek to hide from the Negro people the truth that they cannot achieve national liberation without helping and developing the proletarian revolution, just as it is impossible for the revolutionary white and Negro workers to overthrow American imperialism without the direct support of the Negro people.

These theories express the strivings of the upper class Negroes for a "solution" of the National Question within the frame-work of the oppressive capitalist system—a "solution" that would force the white capitalists to concede them a greater share in the jim-crow exploitation of the Negro masses. Clearly such a "solution" would not meet the basic needs of the Negro people for land, bread, freedom, equality. The class interests of the upper class Negroes (landords, business men, etc.,) are inextricably bound up with the jim-crow capitalist system. Unable to compete in the open market with the white capitalists, they can develop their enterprises only on the basis of the jim-crow isolation and segregation of the Negro masses.

TOLEDO, O.
NEWS BEE

MAY 15 1935

To the Editor:

MR. EDWARD MARTEN wants to know who brought the slums from the South. The answer is nature's boomerang which circles back and strikes where it started. For many years reformers and agitators have nosed in affairs of the South and told the lower classes they are ill-treated. Hence we have a steady migration northward, these classes naturally seeking the bosom of the self-appointed guardians who aimed to burden the South but instead burdened themselves.

Illinois and New York have their troubles too. Yet the guardians continue to meddle in Dixie. They aren't clever enough to know that passage of the anti-lynch law will produce a new weapon in the South which will affect all Negroes and drive millions northward to be cared for by relief. You simply cannot change the opinions and beliefs of the Southerner. He was taught these just as you were taught yours. The story of framing Negroes is stretched to the bursting point. It occurs no oftener in proportion to Negro population than elsewhere.

A Negro is safe in Dixie as long as he behaves. I have lived in the South and understand conditions. An attack occurred near my home. The Negro was certainly not illiterate and on the gallows he implored other Negroes to be careful of their conduct. His victim died later, broken completely. The Southerner views with horror these affairs and deems prevention vitally important, especially where Negroes outnumber the whites.

The conflict of opinion between North and South is like Germany and the Allies. The German horse was taken to water 17 years ago but he hasn't drunk yet. And why? Statesmen everywhere know it is a poor policy to try to enforce the conqueror's mandate in these times.

Our Congress does not push legislation against public opinion in the South because dissension is too favorable to foreign nations. We condemn mixing in European affairs, we censure our neighbor for criticizing our home and it will be smart, likewise for Ohio to clean up her own house before she meddles in Dixie.

My advice is: Don't meddle unless you are willing to pay the cost of the sought-for improvements and even so, the result might be such that money won't handle it.—Henry Roberts.

ST. LOUIS, MO.
STAR TIMES

MAR 27 1935

A LINCOLN PAINTING IN MISSOURI.

Was it really the Department of Labor, presided over by Madame Secretary Perkins, that refused to hang a CWA painting of Lincoln signing the Emancipation Proclamation for fear it might offend people in the South? So says a Washington correspondent of the Star-Times, with the added information that the painting has been acquired by Lincoln University, Negro school at Jefferson City, Missouri.

The federal government's loss is Missouri's gain, but what a reflection upon American political standards, that such timidity should be displayed toward an act for which the entire world honors Lincoln. Was it in this spirit that he gained the name of Great Emancipator?

Miss Perkins, probably, had nothing to do with the rejection. It does not fit her character, any more than the attempted deportation of John Strachey by a Department of Labor bureau does. But both incidents suggest that Miss Perkins has compromised with the elements in her department which made it a center of heartless and stupid reaction during the Harding, Coolidge and Hoover administrations. It needed the kind of housecleaning Secretary Ickes gave some of the bureaus of the Interior Department, but unfortunately she couldn't. or didn't. deliver the punch.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.
REPUBLICAN

JUN 19 1935

A NEGRO PROTEST

To the Editor of The Republican:—

Thirty years ago The Republican was the first periodical that paid me anything at all for my little stories and sketches. Naturally, I have always had kindly feeling toward it. All the more then was I concerned to read the recent editorial, "Forgetting the Civil War," though I realized that there was a certain graciousness in this.

The fact is that New England insists on being deceived. It was not so in the day of Samuel Bowles. The Civil war is far from over. Day in and day out the Daughters of the Confederacy keep their vigil. They have succeeded in placing in the national Capitol here in Washington statues of both Gen Lee and Jefferson Davis. Each of these was personally a noble man, but could anything be more inconsistent or incongruous? Recently near Washington there was a reproduction of the battle of Chancellorsville.

On every great issue that entered into the Civil war New England has for a generation retreated before the alert and hard-driving South. No publisher in Massachusetts will now print a book that stands firmly for the things for which Sumner and Phillips and Gov Andrew stood; but, meanwhile, in New York a four-volume life of Lee is given the Pulitzer prize.

As for the Negro, just let one ask for a job in Boston or Springfield! Strange as it may seem, for anything like liberal and courageous thought on the great issues affecting humanity, we now have to look to a few earnest spirits in the South.

No, the Civil war is far from over, and it is time for another editorial, this one to be entitled, "The Retreat of New England."

BENJAMIN BRAWLEY.

Howard university, Washington, D. C., June 17, 1935.

Nazi Organization Here Attacks Negroes As Menace to White Man's Civilization

SCRANTON, PA.
TIMES

MAY 24 1935

Anti-Hitler Conference Is Called for June 29 to Combat Fascism Rise

A Nazi organization in New York, which directs its vicious tirades against Negroes and calls for their suppression here in the same manner that Hitler suppressed the Jews in Germany, will be exposed on June 29 when the United Anti-Nazi Conference is held at the New School of Social Research, 66 West Twelfth street.

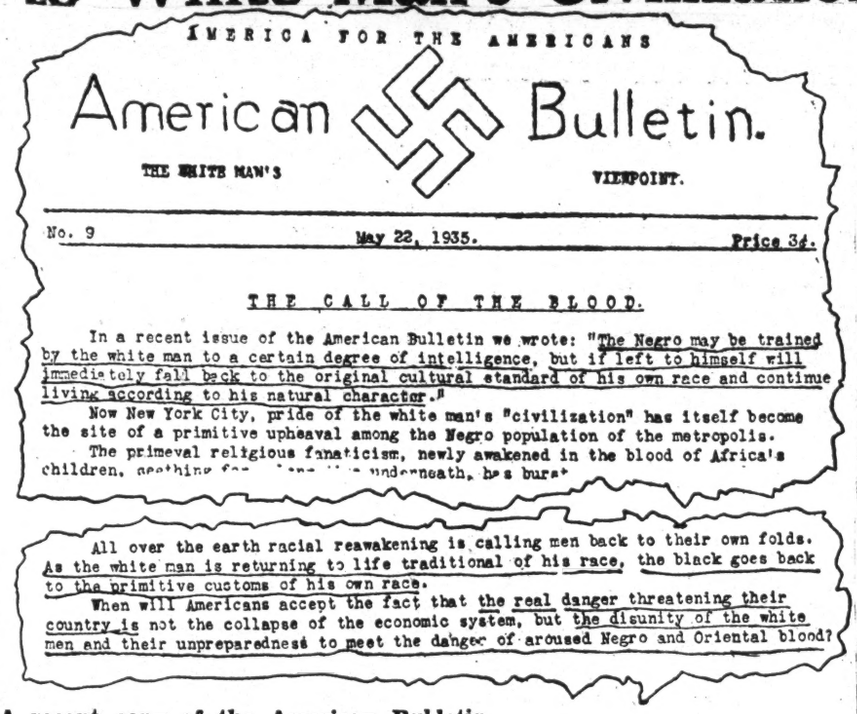
This Hitler group, whose attacks on the Negro are even more vicious than those of the Ku Klux Klan, is the American National Socialist Society. The society publishes the "American Bulletin," a mimeographed pamphlet which terms itself "The White Man's Viewpoint," and calls for "America for the Americans." The periodical is issued from 1308 First avenue, New York City, Box A.

In a recent issue of the pamphlet the society asked: "When will Americans accept the fact that the real danger threatening their country is not the collapse of the economic system, but the disunity of the white men and their unpreparedness to meet the danger of aroused Negro and Oriental blood. . . . The Negro may be trained by the white man to a certain degree of intelligence, but if left to himself will immediately fall back to the original cultural standard of his own race and continue living according to his natural character."

Hits Riot Probe.

In the same issue the American National Socialists point with horror to the recent Harlem riots and charge that the investigation by the Mayor's Commission is dominated by "Jews, Communists and Negroes." The pamphlet, which praises Father Coughlin and contends that his program emulates that of Adolph Hitler, also describes the treatment of eighteen followers of Father Divine in Bellevue Hospital. Ignoring the fact that several of these Divine followers were white, the American Bulletin states:

"This example proves that the Negro, despite being surrounded by the white man's civilization and for generations living in this atmosphere has not become 'civilized,' but has remained true to his own tradition which will always remain 'primitive,' no matter where to the Negro is taken from his original home, Africa. . . . All over the earth racial reawakening is calling men back to their own folds. As the white man is returning to life traditional of his race, the black goes back to the primitive customs of his own race."



AMERICA FOR THE AMERICANS

American Bulletin.

THE WHITE MAN'S VIEWPOINT.

No. 9 May 22, 1935. Price 3d.

THE CALL OF THE BLOOD.

In a recent issue of the American Bulletin we wrote: "The Negro may be trained by the white man to a certain degree of intelligence, but if left to himself will immediately fall back to the original cultural standard of his own race and continue living according to his natural character."

Now New York City, pride of the white man's "civilization" has itself become the site of a primitive upheaval among the Negro population of the metropolis.

The primeval religious fanaticism, newly awakened in the blood of Africa's children, seething for ... underneath, has burst ...

All over the earth racial reawakening is calling men back to their own folds. As the white man is returning to life traditional of his race, the black goes back to the primitive customs of his own race.

When will Americans accept the fact that the real danger threatening their country is not the collapse of the economic system, but the disunity of the white men and their unpreparedness to meet the danger of aroused Negro and Oriental blood?

A recent copy of the American Bulletin.

Seeks Harlem Support.

The United Anti-Nazi Federation of New York, which is fighting the rise of Nazi activities in this country, has issued a call to all Harlem churches and civic organizations to send delegates to the United Anti-Nazi Conference, which will be held at the New School of Social Research, 66 West Twelfth street, on the afternoon of June 29. The Federation maintains offices at 168 West Twenty-third street. Its telephone number is Chelsea 2-3759.

The Rev. A. Clayton Powell of Abyssinian Baptist Church is a member of the sponsoring committee for the conference. Other members include Waldo Frank, Arthur Garfield Hays, the Rev. John Haynes Holmes, Prof. Robert Morss Lovett, J. B. Matthews, Prof. Frederick L. Schuman, James Waterman Wise and Prof. Godwin Watson. Langston Hughes, poet, is an official of the Federation.

Segregation of the Negro

Segregation, which has so long been fought by most negroes, is advocated as the one road to racial salvation by W. E. B. DuBois, negro leader and editor of the Crisis. Writing in Current History for June, Dr. DuBois proposes the erection of a negro nation within the nation. "American Negroes," he says, "must plan for their economic future and the social survival of their fellows in the firm belief that this means in a real sense the survival of colored folk in the world and the building of a full humanity instead of a petty white tyranny."

As Dr. DuBois points out, "the peculiar position of negroes in America offers an opportunity. Negroes today cast probably 2,000,000 votes in a total of 40,000,000, and their vote will increase. This gives them, particularly in northern cities, and at critical times, a chance to hold a very considerable balance of power, and the mere threat of this being used intelligently and with determination may often mean much.

"The consuming power of 2,800,000 negro families has recently been estimated at $166,000,000 a month—a tremendous power when intelligently directed. Their man power as laborers probably equals that of Mexico or Jugoslavia. Their illiteracy is much lower than that of Spain or Italy.

"There is today a chance for the negroes to organize a co-operative state within their own group. By letting negro farmers feed negro artisans and negro technicians guide negro home industries, and negro thinkers plan this intregation of co-operation, while negro artists dramatize and beautify the struggle, economic independence can be achieved.

"The immediate reaction of most people to this suggestion," Dr. DuBois readily admits, "will be that the thing can not be done without extreme results. Negro thinkers have from time to time emphasized the fact that no nation within a nation can be built because of the attitude of the dominant majority, and because all legal and police power are out of negro hands, and because large-scale industries, like steel and utilities, are organized on a national basis."

The reply which Dr. DuBois would give is this: "A nation within a nation has already been partially accomplished in the organization of the negro church, the negro school and the negro retail business, and, despite all the justly due criticism, the result has been astonishing."

HENDERSONVILLE, N. C.
TIMES NEWS

JUL 16 1935

IS THE "SOLID SOUTH" SPLITTING?

"There probably never has been a time in the South when undercurrents of criticism were running so strongly as today against a Democratic president. In a section where it was unsafe to criticize Woodrow Wilson, President Roosevelt is on the defensive among old Southern families who see their system of economic feudalism crumbling before a New Deal, which is making the Negro economically independent of them and reducing their cotton crops. Through a combination of personal and political factors, the leading rabble-rousers of the South are also in full cry against him. In the sense that Louisiana very probably is 'gone' and Georgia may be slipping from the Democratic electoral column, the 'Solid South' again has become politically debatable."

This is the sentiment by Theodore C. Wallen, writing in the New York Tribune. It is a conclusion reached, no doubt, because of criticisms of the New Deal by such men as Governor Talmadge of Georgia, Senator Long of Alabama, Senators Byrd and Glass of Virginia, and Smith of South Carolina. Without undertaking to discuss the criticisms of Mr. Roosevelt by Southern men, we do want to deny Wallen's statement that making the Negro economically independent of white landlords and reducing their cotton crops is the basis for any opposition to Mr. Roosevelt.

Southern white people, with few exceptions, rejoice over any progress the Negro makes. In fact ... lend every encouragement and help toward ... advancement, socially, morally and economi...

...land Star.

Race Problem - 1935

United States.

NEW ORLEANS, LA.
TRIBUNE

MAY 26 1935

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As Dr. DuBois points out, "the peculiar position of Negroes in America offers an opportunity. Negroes today cast probably 2,000,000 votes in a total of 40,000,000, and their vote will increase. This gives them, particularly in Northern cities, and at critical times, a chance to hold a very considerable balance of power, and the mere threat of this being used intelligently and with determination may often mean much.

"The consuming power of 2,000,000 Negro families has recently been estimated at $166,000,000 a month—a tremendous power when intelligently directed. Their man power as laborers probably equals that of Mexico or Yugoslavia. Their illiteracy is much lower than that of Spain and Italy. Their estimated per capita wealth about equals that of Japan. For a nation with this start in culture and efficiency to sit down and wait the salvation of a white god is idiotic.

"There is today a chance for the Negroes to organize a co-operative state within their own group. By letting Negro farmers feed Negro artisans and Negro technicians guide Negro home industries, and Negro thinkers plan this intregation of co-operation, while Negro artists dramatize and beautify the struggle, economic independence can be achieved. To doubt that this is possible is to doubt the essential humanity and the quality of brains of the American Negro.

"The immediate reaction of most people to this suggestion," Dr. DuBois readily admits, "will be that the thing cannot be done without extreme results. Negro thinkers have from time to time emphasized the fact that no nation within a nation can be built because of the attitude of the dominant majority, and because all legal and police power are out of Negro hands, and because large-scale industries, like steel and utilities, are organized on a national basis."

THE reply which Dr. DuBois would give is this: "A nation within a nation has already been partially accomplished in the organization of the Negro church, the Negro school and the Negro retail business, and, despite all the justly due criticism, the result has been astonishing. The great majority of American Negroes are divided not only for religious but for a large number of social purposes, into self-supporting economic units, self-governed, self-directed.

"When all these things are taken into consideration," Dr. DuBois maintains, "it becomes clearer to more and more American Negroes, that through voluntary and increased segregation, by careful autonomy and planned economic organization, they may build so strong and efficient a unit that 12,000,000 men can no longer be refused fellowship and equality in the United States."

Yes, as even a leader like Dr. DuBois admits, "no sooner is this proposed than a great fear sweeps over elder Negroes. Theey cry "No segregation'—no further yielding to prejudice and race separation.

"Any planning for the benefit of American Negroes on the part of a Negro intelligentsia is going to involve organized and delibater self-segregation. There are plenty of people in the United States who would be only too willing to use such a plan as a way to increase existing legal and customary segregation between the races. This threat which many Negroes see is no mere mirage. What of it? It must be faced."

DES MOINES, IA.
REGISTER

JUN 4 1935

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(By W. E. B. DuBois in Current History for June.)

No more critical situation ever faced the Negroes of America than that of today—not in 1830, nor in 1861, nor in 1867. More than ever the appeal of the Negro for elementary justice falls on deaf ears.



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Negro children are systematically denied education; when the National Education association asks for federal aid for education it permits discrimination to be perpetuated by the present local authorities. Once or twice a month Negroes convicted of no crime are openly and publicly lynched, and even burned; yet a National Crime Convention is brought to perfunctory and unwilling notice of this only by mass picketing and all but illegal agitation.

Out of Jobs.

Long before the depression Negroes in the south were losing "Negro" jobs, those assigned them by common custom—poorly paid and largely undesirable toil, but nevertheless life-supporting. Negroes are now restricted more and more to common labor and domestic service of the lowest paid and worst kind. In textile, chemical and other manufactures Negroes were from the first nearly excluded, and just as slavery kept the poor white out of profitable agriculture, so freedom prevents the poor Negro from finding a place in manufacturing. The world-wide decline in agriculture has moreover carried the mass of black farmers, despite heroic endeavor among the few, down to the level of landless tenants and peons.

The colored people of America are coming to face the fact quite calmly that most white Americans do not like them, and are planning neither for their survival, nor for their definite future if it involves free, self-assertive modern manhood.

Some Are Worried.

This does not mean all Americans. A saving few are worried about the Negro problem: a still larger group are not ill-disposed, but they fear prevailing public opinion. The great mass of Americans are, however, merely representatives of average humanity. They muddle along with their own affairs and scarcely can be expected to take seriously the affairs of strangers or people whom they partly fear and partly despise.

For many years it was the theory of most Negro leaders that this attitude was the insensibility of ignorance and inexperience, that white America did not know of or realize the continuing plight of the Negro. Accordingly, for the last two decades, we have striven by book and periodical, by speech and appeal, by various dramatic methods of agitation, to put the essential facts before the American people. Today there can be no doubt that Americans know the facts; and yet they remain for the most part indifferent and unmoved.

White Labor Blamed.

Today it is white labor that keeps Negroes out of decent low-cost housing, that confines the protection of the best unions to "white" men, that often will not sit in the same hall with black folk who already have joined the labor movement. White labor has to hate scabs; but it hates black scabs not because they are scabs but because they are black. It mobs white scabs to force them into labor fellowship. It mobs black scabs to starve and kill them. In the present fight of the American Federation of Labor against company unions it is attacking the only unions that Negroes can join.

Thus the Negro's fight to enter organized industry has made little headway. No Negro, no matter what his ability, can be a member of any of the railway unions. He cannot be an engineer, fireman, conductor, switchman, brakeman or yardman. If he organizes separately, he may, as in the case of the Negro Firemen's union, be assaulted and even killed by white firemen.

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Control of their own education, which is the logical and inevitable end of separate schools, would not be an unmixed ill; it might prove a supreme good. Negro schools once meant. poor schools. They need not today; they must not tomorrow. Separate Negro sections will increase race antagonism, but they will also increase economic co-operation, organized self-defense and necessary self-confidence.

An Economic Nation.

For the Negroes with their present start in culture and efficiency to sit down and await the salvation of a white God is idiotic. With the use of their political power, their power as consumers, genius, and at the same time, their power, added to personal appeal of race hatred, to keep in helpful touch and co-operate with the mass of people as are always gives to human beings, Negroes. It must happened more often than most Negroes can develop in the United States an economic nation within a nation, able to work through groups not so obviously separated from the mass of the nation. This has which proximity of neighborhood that chance of their own institutions, to educate its American Negroes, and their brain power, without mob violence or extreme that so-called inner co-operation, to found its own institutions, to educate its American Negroes. It must happen in our case, or there is no hope for the Negro in America.

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THE NEGROES

Manchester Guardian Weekly
7-5-35 Manchester, N.H.

A Talk With Paul Robeson

From a Correspondent

Manchester England

Paul Robeson was so kind as to talk to me about the problems of negro life. We were under the painful impression of the Scottsboro trial, in which seven negro boys are accused of attacking white women. "How can you explain," I asked, "the cruelty of this trial? For three years the boys have been dragged from one court to another, always in danger of the death sentence. And how is it possible that a civilised country like the United States allows negroes to be lynched?"

"All this is possible because negroes have virtually no human rights which the white man respects. This was said in 1860, before the Civil War, by the chief judge of the highest court in the United States, and it is still true."

"But do not the negroes possess political rights?"

"Negroes have to-day no right of voting in the Southern States. From the negro State of Texas only white representatives are sent to Washington. Only once in fifty years has a negro representative been seen in Washington, and he did not come from the South but from Chicago."

"You speak of negroes as a whole. What about the social differences among them?"

"The rich and educated classes among the negroes do their utmost to achieve assimilation to the whites. A negro merchant made a great deal of money by inventing means of smoothing the curly hair of negroes. Our doctors, writers, clergymen are all alike in this urge towards assimilation. They have developed a deep inferiority complex. The poorer negroes imitate the educated ones, but even these latter are not happy. As soon as a negro becomes rich he is surrounded by hatred and envy. If a white man injures a negro in the street and the negro retorts in kind he will be lynched—and later on it will be declared that he attacked a white woman.

"In the Northern States of America there is no direct persecution, but perhaps the position of the negroes there is even worse than in the South, because the urge to assimilation is much stronger than in the South. Our intellectuals try to suppress in the negro papers every element of our own culture in favour of the so-called higher values of white culture. Negro workers cannot be members of the proletarian movement. Officially American trade unions are open to negroes, but in practice the doors are closed against them."

"Have you, Mr. Robeson, suffered personally in this way?"

"Yes; to make this clear let me tell you something of my own life. I did well at school, and then studied law. I had to find a solicitor's office to get some practice in my profession. It was likely to be a desperate search, but I was lucky: a white friend of mine liked me because I was a good footballer, and took me into his office.

"But what happened? His partners were furious. 'What is a negro doing here?' The American typist refused to take down from my dictation. I left the place, and not only the place but the profession, for we negroes cannot get the necessary experience at the Bar. Even if I had remained in the profession I could not have defended my brethren the Scottsboro boys. The white judges would not listen to my speech.

"So with the medical profession. There are only three good negro hospitals in the country. Everywhere—among doctors, nurses, patients—there is race segregation. That is why many negroes with diplomas and men of good education are working as porters, door-keepers, sleeping-car stewards. My own brother graduated in Pennsylvania University, and is now working as a railway porter. When I had qualified for my liberal profession I worked for some time as a waiter. On one occasion I happened to act in an amateur performance. I sang, and someone noticed me. I started a new life, that of an artist."

"Only the singer, artist, and writer are able to break the ban in America. I can now go in America wherever I like, where before I should simply have been thrown out. Not that I do or will go where as a human being I should not be allowed to go and where to this day they would not admit my brother."

"How do you hope to awaken the self-consciousness of the black man?"

"We must remember that outside North America there are three other centres of negro population: the Caribbean Islands (Jamaica, Haiti, &c.), Brazil, with the whole of South America, and Africa. In these various regions negroes speak different languages, but in spite of that even the American negroes feel instinctively in sympathy with their own blood, the black men of the whole world."

"How do you imagine, say in the next hundred years, the negro race will develop?"

"It is impossible to be optimistic. For a long time Africa will still be under the control of Europeans. But in all countries negroes must stand in one camp, fighting for freedom and social justice. We are not the slightest if Africa, as a united continent of negroes, ever standing against the other races. No, all our hope lies in the development of freedom in the world. But meanwhile negroes should unite and systematically develop their own culture. The world to-day is full of barbarism, and I feel that this united negro culture could bring into the world a fresh spiritual, humanitarian principle, a principle of human friendship and service to the community."

SIX THOUSAND NEGROES VIEW HUEY LONG'S FLOWER-BANKED BIER

Minneapolis Tribune
Minneapolis Spokesman
N.Y. 9-29-35

BY DON DAVIS
(For A. N. P.)

BATON ROUGE, La., Sept. 20—As Senator Huey P. Long's body lay in state on a flower-banked bier in Memorial Hall of the Louisiana State House, more than six thousand members of the race viewed his remains.

Associated Negro Press representatives were given strategic positions and granted all courtesies of the press.

Members of the race came from all sections of the state to view the remains of the man they expected to help them. A huge crowd gathered around the mortuary establishment that had charge of the body and, in a drizzling rain they stood with eyes focused upon the hearse that stood in a driveway adjoining the chapel.

Throughout the night and up to burial time Thursday colored men and women with solemn expressions on their faces passed the bier to get a glimpse of their idol of the white south. They came from all walks of life—cooks, janitors, doctors and all, found time to view the "King." In the line they were treated as citizens of Louisiana. It made no difference who they stood beside. An old farmer drove his team thirty miles Thursday morning and was in line at 9:30. He had come to see the Senator, for he had only read of what he was doing.

"I read where Depriest okayed him, so I knew he was allright." The white people smiled at this statement.

"Do you think they would let us get in this line to see anyone else?" the old fellow quizzed as he trudged nearer the bier.

Most of the crowd passed the bier in the morning were present when Rev. Gerald L. K. Smith delivered the funeral oration. Many of those present had contacted Rev. Smith by mail relative to the "Share The Wealth" movement. They expected something good from him. The minister had their attention as he progressed with his speech of memorial.

"Long was a man of no racial antipathy" the minister said. All eyes were on him until he closed with "I am the master of my fate, I am the Captain of my soul."

The race's reaction to the experiences at the bier of Long and Rev. Smith's oration may be summed up thus: Had Long lived the same treatment given at his bier would have prevailed at the voting booths next year and political freedom would be theirs.

Race Problem - 1935
West Indies.

Black Lieutenant Runs 1st Soviet in Cuban Hills

Afro-American
3-23-35

Ex-Spanish American Vet Is Chief of 15,000 in Mountains.

WIFE IS WHITE, 4 CHILDREN MIXED

Red Farmers Beat off Army in 1934.

HAVANA, Cuba — Fifteen thousand peasants in Cuba have set up the first Soviet in America in the mountain fastnesses of Realengo Eighteen, province of Oriente, Josephine Herbst, author of "The Executioner Waits," says in an article smuggled out of Cuba and appearing in the current issue of New Masses.

The province of Orient is the birthplace of Col. Fulgencio Batista, bronzed commander-in-chief of the Cuban federal army.

Lion Alvarez, 55, born in Santiago, a teamster by trade, who fought in the Spanish-American War and became a lieutenant, is the leader of the farming community. At the head of his men, he stubbornly and successfully resisted federal army attempts to capture the land and drive out the 5,000 families of Realengo Eighteen in 1934.

"Lion," reports Mrs. Herbst, "is a very black man, small and compact. He is married to a white woman. Two of their children," the New Masses article continues, "are white. There are fourteen in all.

Machete Is Plow

All men in the community wear the machete, a broad swordlike instrument with which alone they cultivate the land and with which they also fight. Lion wears the silver-headed sword of a Spanish general whom he killed in the Spanish-American War.

For years he worked for a big proprietor of land and mills and then, in 1920, this man tried to bribe Lion to drive the people from Realengo Eighteen, the article states, and turn the land over to him. Instead, Alvarez began a long fight, during which he lost several thousand dollars he had saved.

Mrs. Herbst told of visiting the home of Argimiro Gainza, Realengo poet.

"A Haitian worker, speaking French," the story pursues, "sat modestly listening with delight to the rest of us talk about Maxim Gorki. The wife served coffee in tiny cups."

Pots Are Tin Cans

"Two beautiful, naked little girls sat shyly on a stool. Big gourds held water, tin cans served for pots, but the sleeping-room had fewer beds than most, as this couple have as yet only two children. The majority of Realengo homes house ten.

"Talk is fine," Mrs. Herbst writes, "and there where no trains have come, autos have scarcely been seen, the words 'imperialism, struggle, united front of workers and farmers' are common as sun and air."

West Indian Workers' Cause Supported By Native, Foreign Born

Daily Worker
3-16-35

Plan To Raise Money For Appeal To Colonial Office In England

Native American Negroes joined their West Indian brethren in loud protest against the outrage recently committed in the massacre of workers in the island of St. Kitts, B. W. I., when both groups assembled at a mass meeting held at Holy Cross Pro-Cathedral, 122 West 129 street.

Daily Worker

The keynote of Unity was sounded by the Dean of the Pro-Cathedral, Archbishop Robinson and throughout the meeting the sentiments voiced by all of the speakers indicated a determined effort on the part of all to unite in a common cause.

Assemblyman William T. Andrews of New York, a native son of South Carolina, and Sidney Davis, prominent in fraternal circles, native of Georgia, were equally as sincere in their pleas and expressions as other speakers of West Indian birth among whom were Honorable James S. Watson, Justice of the Municipal Court, Hope Stevens, W. V. Reape, W. Selkridge, Bertram L. Baker, Dr. James A. Banks, Dr. R. A. Taylor and Robert Douglas.

According to the chairman of the committee, Hope Stevens, the fight will be carried to the Colonial Office in England. Loud cheers followed this announcement. Robert Douglas immediately offered to donate the beautiful Renaissance Ballroom for the evening of April 2, when a monster reception and dance is planned, the purpose being to raise sufficient funds to carry on the fight.

Those desiring to assist in the cause may obtain information from either of the following: In Manhattan, H. C. Matthews, 2215 7th avenue, phone Tillinghast 5-5434; in Brooklyn; Bertram L. Baker, 523 Throop avenue, phone, Jefferson 3-6321.

West Indies Negroes Battle Colonial Police

Huge Meetings Defy Martial Law As British Land Marines—Rural Workers Aid Heroic Struggles in City—Barricades Set Up

KINGSTOWN, St. Vincent, B. W. I., Oct. 23.—Setting up barricades across the principal roads leading from this city to the country districts, Negro workers and plantation laborers last night defied martial law and the bayonets and machine guns of British marines landed here during the day from a British warship.

Earlier in the day, the workers and laborers carried out a series of huge demonstrations against the hunger and murder policies of the British colonial Government which the day before ordered the shooting down of hungry workers demonstrating for relief.

Police Killed Three

Angered by the killing of three workers by police and aroused over reported British concessions to Fascist Italy in its robber war on Ethiopia, the demonstrators wrecked several Government buildings, and smashed the luxurious automobiles of Governor Sir Selwyn Grier, as well as those of a Supreme Court Judge and of the island's Attorney General.

10-24-35

The Governor himself was hemmed in by a crowd of workers on Monday in front of the Courthouse and freed only after a promise to meet with their representatives to discuss their demands, which include unemployment relief, workmen's compensation, minimum wages for the employed, and the arrest and punishment of the officials responsible for the murderous police attack on Monday when three workers were killed, and eight persons, including two women wounded by rifle fire.

Rural Workers Aid

Yesterday the trouble broke out anew as, angered by the shooting down of city workers, laborers from outlying plantations came pouring into the capital in a magnificent show of solidarity with their city brothers. Police were time and again forced to retreat in disorder before the flaming anger of the masses.

When local white and colored business men enlisted in a vigilante band to help the police, the angry workers and laborers retaliated by cutting off the capital from the rest of the island. Tearing down the Camden Park bridge on the highway connecting the capital with the Leeward district, the toilers set up barricades reinforced by telephone poles which they uprooted and placed across the road.

Battle With Marines

At the same time an underground passage on the highway between Kingstown and the Windward district was destroyed, blocking the movement of armed forces of the Government in that direction.

During the afternoon and early evening, demonstrators engaged in hand to hand battles with armed British marines, who were landed here yesterday from a warship to the island from nearby Grenada in answer to an urgent appeal for help by the local Government.

While the marines patrolled the town, hundreds of demonstrators massed at Byershill and Camden Park in a militant protest demonstration, courageously defending themselves when attacked by the combined forces of marines, police and local business men vigilantes. Scores of workers were arrested and placed in a concentration camp on the outskirts of the town, where they are being held under a heavy marine guard.

Fighting Spreads

Last night, the fighting spread to the county districts as new sections of the laborers and peasants rallied to the side of the embattled workers. Fighting also occurred in Georgetown and Chateau Belair Plantations along the roads between the towns were raided by the laborers. In many instances, plantation owners were beaten by the demonstrators. The house of Captain C. O. Hazell, a big plantation owner, was stormed when Hazell fired into a crowd of laborers, wounding one.

With the outbreak more and more taking on an anti-imperialist character, the demonstrators stormed the homes of Justice G. C. Williams, and Attorney General G. C. Ross, two outstanding agents in the island of British imperialism.

The present outbreak follows months of labor unrest over the cynical denial by the Government of relief to unemployed workers and increasing wage cuts against the employed by city employers and plantation owners. It is the third outbreak within recent months in the British West Indies. A few months ago workers of Basseterre, St. Kitts, battled police and colonial militia after police had fired into a demonstration of laborers on an outlying plantation, killing several and wounding many others. The city workers streamed out to the aid of the laborers at that time, as now the laborers in this island have rallied to the aid of the town workers.

British Marines Seize 42 Negroes in St. Vincent

KINGSTOWN, St. Vincent, B. W. I., Oct. 24.—A "state of emergency" was declared yesterday in this British colonial possession by Governor Sir Selwyn Grier to supplement the martial law under which British marines with bayonets have been patrolling the town. Forty-two workers are under arrest, charged with participation in the disorders on Monday and Tuesday last, when city workers and laborers from outlying plantations battled armed British marines, police and business men vigilantes after police had fired into a relief demonstration, killing three workers and wounding eight others, including two women. The island has been under martial law since Tuesday.

British marines are in control of the capital and other towns, but united groups of workers and laborers are still holding their own in the cuntryside. They are holding many plantations along the roads between the towns. Attempts by island constabulary to dislodge them have failed so far.

The lone hospital in the capital is overcrowded with injured toilers and police and emergency dressing stations have been set up in other parts of the island.

A special issue of the Government Gazette proclaimed the state of emergency. A censorship was also clamped down, as the government prepared punitive measures.

Sailors and members of the business men's vigilante band are still patrolling the streets of Kingstown, scene of the bitterest fighting. Most stores are closed, while workers kept their children from school today as a protest

Race Problem - 1935

West Indies

Seventeen U. S. Writers Promptly Jailed in Cuba

Mason Telegram
Mason Star
7-3-35

Commission Intending to Investigate Island Conditions Are Removed From Liner On Its Arrival and Lodged in La Punta Prison

HAVANA, July 2. (AP)—Seventeen members of a commission of the League of American Writers to investigate social and labor conditions in Cuba tonight were removed from the Ward liner Oriente and lodged in La Punta prison.

The Americans were placed in prison suddenly, as it had been thought they would merely be refused permission to land.

When the Oriente arrived in Havana harbor tonight, several hundred policemen met the vessel and refused to let members of the commission, which includes several well known New York liberal writers, get off the boat.

Despite the Americans' protests, they were bunched in a corner of a main salon of the ship and then were marched off to prison.

Several Women in Group

Clifford Odets, leftist playwright whose Waiting for Lefty and other works were a sensation of the past New York stage season, heads the commission, which includes several women. Long before the ship docked, police lined the docks, many of them in civilian clothes. A committee of local radicals was kept off the pier and only police, government officials and newspapermen were allowed to board the Oriente. Photographers were barred.

Manning Johnson, one of the two Negro members of the committee, was dragged from a chair by a secret policeman when the former tried to argue with the officer who had told him to move over into a corner.

Johnson refused to move from the chair and the office took him by the coat collar and pulled him away.

"Mendieta Is Afraid"

Komorowski declared: "Our delegation feels that President Mendieta is afraid of an impartial investigation. Otherwise, we would have been permitted to land and continue our study of conditions in Cuba. We protest the action and will demand the right to land."

Highly indignant over the order, Crosbie told secret police they had no authority to board the ship because it was "American territory." The police replied that when he crossed the three-mile zone off Havana he entered Cuban trritory and was subject to Cuban laws.

(Among founders of the recently organized League of American Writers are Waldo Frank, Malcolm Cowley, John Howard Lawson and Alfred Kreymborg.)

FIST FIGHT MARKS VIRGIN ISLE INQUIRY

New York Times
7-3-35

Yates, Pearson's Former Aide, and Allen, Newspaper Man, Clash in Senate Corridor.

New York N.Y.

ICKES SUFFERS A SETBACK

Committee Refuses to Let Him Cross-Examine Witnesses as Hearings Commence.

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, July 2.—The special Senate committee investigation of Governor Paul M. Pearson's administration of the Virgin Islands got under way today with a fist fight. At the same time Secretary Harold L. Ickes, whose Interior Department has jurisdiction over the islands, drew from the committee a refusal to permit him to cross-examine witnesses.

Senator Millard Tydings, chairman of the committee, told Mr. Ickes that he could submit all the evidence he desired but that the committee would draw the line at cross-examination of witnesses by the Secretary or his subordinates.

Paul Yates, former executive assistant to Governor Pearson, was to have been the lead-off witness today, but as he was one of the principals in the fist fight, his examination was postponed for physical reasons.

Newspaper Man His Opponent.

The other party to the fight was Robert S. Allen, Washington newspaper man, who is associated in the writing of a syndicated column with Drew Pearson, a son of Governor Pearson.

The battle between Mr. Yates and Mr. Allen was fought just outside the main entrance to the Senate caucus room in which the hearings are being held. Mr. Yates was talking with two friends when Mr. Allen appeared. The two men, once close friends, glared at each other. Mr. Yates made a remark resented by Mr. Allen, who replied in kind.

The committee was seated, with the hearings about to start, when the fracas broke out. Both men swung viciously. Both missed. Friends intervened, but Mr. Yates and Mr. Allen were not to be quieted so easily; they separated, and breaking free, started fighting in earnest.

Uppercuts, left swings and blows to the body quickly followed as onlookers scampered out of the danger zone. The Capitol police then stepped in, and Mr. Yates was escorted to a first aid station in the building, while Mr. Allen was taken to the detention room in the basement.

Mr. Yates was patched up and went home, and Mr. Allen was soon released at the request of Senator James F. Byrnes.

Conflicting Versions of Cause.

Conflicting stories were heard as to the cause of the fight. According to Mr. Allen, Mr. Yates insulted him in the corridor. According to Mr. Yates, Mr. Allen "picked on me." According to Governor Pearson, Mr. Allen had introduced Mr. Yates to him and "has been boiling with rage ever since because of some of the things Yates did while under my administration."

Still another story had it that the fight started when Mr. Allen greeted Mr. Yates in the corridor with the remark, "Hello, you double-crosser." According to this version, Mr. Allen struck the first blow.

Secretary Ickes remarked at a press conference later that he was not "dissatisfied" with the course the Senate investigation had taken. Obviously referring to the fist-fight, he said:

"I wish that I had been in a ringside seat."

Immediately after Senator Tydings had called the committe to order, Mr. Ickes arose and asked permission to cross-examine witnesses, of whom many have come up from the Virgin Islands to tell what they know about the Pearson administration.

"The custom of the Senate is not to permit the cross-examination of witnesses," said Mr. Tydings. "This is not a trial. You can of course submit any evidence you have, whether by witnesses or in the form of documents, but we cannot permit you to cross-examine."

Mr. Ickes said that it was his "understanding that the Department would be permitted to question these witnesses."

Wants "Full Investigation."

"All that I desire is a full, fair and impartial investigation and I must respectfully say that up to this time the investigation has not been free and fair," he added.

Mr. Ickes described the charges by Mr. Yates, which are the basis of the opposition complaints against Governor Pearson, as a "wild-conglomeration" of about everything that Mr. Yates could get out of the newspapers.

Mr. Ickes also said that it had cost the Interior Department about $1,500 to get its evidence in form for presentation to the committee, and asked Senator Tydings whether the committee would assume that expense. The committee will consider the suggestion in executive session.

Charles H. Gibson, removed by Secretary Ickes in 1933 as government attorney for the Virgin Islands, was the only witness today. He charged Governor Pearson with a lack of frankness in the conduct of island affairs and alleged "petty persecution."

Yates Sees "Mailed Fist Tactics."

By The Associated Press.

WASHINGTON, July 2.—His eye cut and blackened and his face swollen, Paul Yates, chief accuser of Governor Paul M. Pearson of the Virgin Islands, charged tonight that his fist fight with Robert S. Allen that produced the opening of the Senate investigation today was "part of the mailed fist tactics by the Pearson crowd."

"It was a premeditated and deliberate attack," Mr. Yates declared. "It is on a par with the tactics of the Interior Department and the Pearson administration and in line with the intimidation and mailed fist we've had to contend with ever since this trouble started."

Informed of Mr. Yates's assertions, Mr. Allen called them "absurd" and "fantastic."

"I had nothing whatever to do with any parties to the case," he said. "Besides, Yates was the aggressor. He made a pass at me first."

NEW YORK JOURNAL
Race Problem
JUL 3 1935

Virgin Isles Quiz Row Stirs Capital

Special to the Evening Journal.

WASHINGTON, July 3.—Charges and counter-charges spread through Washington early today, the second day of the Senate Insular Affairs Committee hearing into allegations of PWA graft and maladministration by the Government of the Virgin Islands.

Capitol Hill was bristling with rumors involving Governor Paul M. Pearson and his superior, Interior Secretary Ickes, and the choice slice of gossip provided by the fistic brawl in the main lobby of the Senate Office Building between Paul C. Yates, former newspaperman, who was executive assistant to Pearson until early this year, and Robert Allen, co-author with Drew Pearson, son of the Caribbean islands' chief executive, of a Washington column.

Opening of the hearing, which was marked by the Senate committee's curt refusal of Secretary Ickes' demands to cross-examine witnesses, and the testimony of Charles H. Gibson, ousted district attorney in the Virgin Islands failed to bring the exposures expected by several hundred spectators.

The tame session was laid to the failure of Yates to testify due to his removal to a hospital following the brawl with Allen. Yates is Pearson's most persistent and chief accuser.

Expectation of further fisticuffs, this time verbal, was due for fulfillment following the announcement by Pearson that he would name a Harlem Negro, "prominent in the numbers racket" as one of the most persistent persecutors of his regime.

Casper Holstein, of New York, present as a spectator at the hearing, admitted that he "might be the Harlem Negro" mentioned by the white-haired Governor.

Holstein is a native of the Island of St. Croix in the Virgin Islands group, owns three plantations and long has been a benefactor to im-

Yates declared today:

"They asked for it and they're going to get it now. The evidence I will produce before Senator Tydings and the committee will blast open this whole Virgin Islands affair."

New York World Telegram
JUL 1 1935

HARLEM NEGRO BLAMED IN ROW IN VIRGIN ISLES

Pearson Believed to Refer to Holstein, Former Boss of Numbers Racket.

INQUIRY OPENS TOMORROW

Paul Yates and Eight Others Arrive to Push the Case Against Official.

By the Associated Press.

WASHINGTON, July 1.—A Harlem Negro "prominent in the numbers racket" was blamed by Governor Paul M. Pearson, of the Virgin Islands, today for agitation against his administration.

The 64-year-old Governor, a former Chautauqua lecturer, said he would name the man tomorrow before the Senate Committee.

(A recent story in the World-Telegram said that Carpar Holstein, reputed overlord of the Harlem numbers racket until "Dutch" Schultz "muscled in," migrated to the more healthful climate of the Virgin Island, and it is to him that Governor Pearson evidently referred.)

Pearson said the Negro, a native of the islands, had become deeply involved in their politics by contributing generously to funds used to discredit his administration.

"Through his political influence this man once secured the appointment of a postmaster in the islands," the Governor said.

Charges that relief funds had been misused in the Virgin Islands and that relief food had been diverted to British possessions were made today by Paul Yates, former Assistant Governor of the islands, who arrived on the liner Coamo with eight other witnesses to testify before the Senate committee investigating the administration of Governor Pearson.

The inquiry, in which hearings already have been held in the islands, followed bitter factional strife in which Mr. Yates was ousted by Governor Pearson last October. The Pearson supporters charge that the real reason for the attacks on the Governor is a desire to introduce a "spoils system" in the insular government.

The anti-Pearsonites have also attacked Secretary of Interior Ickes because, the Pearsonites say, he has supported the Governor, a Hoover appointee.

Mr. Yates acted as spokesman today for the other arriving witnesses, who included two former government attorneys and several members of colonial councils in the islands.

"What will be disclosed is important to every State in the union and to all of America's territories because the course Secretary Ickes has followed in the Virgin Islands is that followed in all other places where he has handled relief funds," said Mr. Yates.

Virgin Islanders Rejoice at Going of Gov. Pearson

Natives, However, Regret Leaving of Judge T. Webber Wilson.

CRAMER APPOINTEE, WAS PEARSON AIDE

May Not Be Popular for This Reason.

NEW YORK CITY—"The dove of peace seemed to hover over St. Croix Tuesday when the news of Governor Pearson's resignation became known," editorially commented the St. Croix Tribune, according to word just reaching here.

This comment came, however, before news of Lawrence Cramer's selection as the new governor. The only clue as to how Cramer will be received is contained in the closing statement of the Tribune editorial which said:

"What is very paramount at this moment is the removal of those members of his (the governor's) staff who will carry on reprisals and thus prevent conditions from returning to normal. Washington will not complete its job until it removes the trouble-maker.

"When this is done the warship may leave the port of St. Thomas while the people join in singing, 'Happy Days Are Here Again.'"

Cramer Pearson Aide

Cramer has been, for four years lieutenant-governor, and was the personal selection of Governor Pearson. The general feeling in the island is of regret over the transfer of Judge T. Webber Wilson, here in New York.

Ashley L. Totten, president of the Virgin Islands Civic and Industrial Association, and secretary-treasurer of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, expressed delight that civil government continues in the islands.

Pleased With Change

"Personally, I have always considered the governor a well-meaning man and interested in the common people. I am pleased with the change, particularly since it keeps the islands under civil rule and does not turn it over to the navy. Under the circumstances, the shuffling around of islands officials was about the easiest way out."

The AFRO failed after several attempts to locate Caspar Holstein, president of the Virgin Islands Congressional Council, for a statement.

Holstein was chief opponent of Pearson and was also charged by Pearson with furnishing funds which kept the islands fires burning.

What Will Cramer Do?

The naming of Lawrence Cramer, former lieutenant-governor of the Virgin Islands, as governor by President Roosevelt will in no wise improve conditions in the islands, as Mr. Cramer is a part and parcel of the Pearson regime and enjoys much of the hatred expressed against Pearson by the natives. As far as the islands are concerned, the situation is practically at status quo.

The people are bitter against Pearson and all his aides and assistants. The grave danger lies in whether Mr. Cramer, as a carry-over from the Pearson organization, will use his new powers to punish those who opposed the Pearson administration, whether he will retain all the objectionable features and officials of the old order, or whether he will begin with a new slate.

These matters are of vital importance to the solution of the problem from the islanders' viewpoint.

Dr. Pearson Loses a Job

WHILE President Roosevelt's removal of Governor Paul M. Pearson and Judge T. Wilson Webber from their posts in the Virgin Islands closes one unhappy episode in the history of the islands, we are loath to advance the opinion that happiness and satisfaction lie ahead for the 22,000 American wards there.

Mr. Roosevelt has appointed Lawrence W. Cramer, lieutenant-governor of St. Croix, to Dr. Pearson's post. Mr. Cramer is a white man, born in New Orleans. He is thirty-seven years old.

The new governor received two degrees at the University of Wisconsin, a liberal center of culture, and spent a few years at Columbia University as graduate student and instructor in government. For four years he has seen service as an administrative officer in the Virgin Islands.

While Mr. Cramer's education and experience should have served to contribute to the stature necessary to govern an underprivileged people, we are disappointed. We believe Mr. Roosevelt could have found a native Virgin Islander with equal or higher qualifications. Where can you find a people who will receive with complete gratification an administrator of a different race and culture?

If our President could not persuade himself to accept the background, education and intelligence in a native, he could have given the islanders an American Negro governor with social vision.

Since he has chosen to do neither, we suggest that Mr. Roosevelt grant the islanders at least a larger share in working out their salvation.

There have been charges of graft, inefficiency, dictatorship and lesser evils hurled at Dr. Pearson. If an enervating system has been created by American rule, it will not disappear merely because one of Dr. Pearson's assistants has succeeded him. Mr. Cramer should receive orders to establish a just, enlightened administration which affords every native the right to liberty, work and education.

British Marines Guarding Island

Three Slain In Battles By St. Vincent Negroes In Rioting Against Whites

KINGSTOWN, ST. VINCENT, B. W. I Oct. 22—(AP)—Rioting negro strikers, disdaining martial law, tonight blocked Kingstown off from the rest of the island to end two days of disorders in which three of their number were shot to death.

While armed bluejackets from a British warship patrolled the streets, the hoodlums tore down the Camden Park bridge on the highway connecting the capital with the leeward district. Telephone poles were uprooted and placed across the road.

At the same time an underground passage on the highway between Kingstown and the windward district was destroyed, blocking traffic in that direction.

Massed strikers demonstrated at Byerashill and Camden Park, near here and a grocery store in the latter place was looted. Kingstown, largely deserted after yesterday's troubles, was generally quiet throughout the day.

Belligerent negroes, angered by labor troubles and aroused because of race feeling as a result of the Italo-Ethiopian war, were restrained by marines with bayonets on hillsides outside the town, after rioting had flared again this morning. It was feared they would attempt to avenge the fatal wounding Monday of three rioters.

The disorders, the culmination of months of labor troubles, broke out after a mass demonstration of laborers Monday. The rioters wrecked the cars of Gov. Sir Selwyn Grier, a Supreme Court judge and the attorney general, and held the governor prisoner until he agreed to discuss the situation with their representatives.

The mob looted homes and stores in Kingstown, Georgetown and Chateaubelair, and invaded homes along the roads connecting the towns as the crowd marched along carrying sticks, clubs, stones and iron bars.

New York World Telegram

JUL 1 1935

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"Through his political influence this man once secured the appointment of a postmaster in the islands," the Governor said.

Charges that relief funds had been misused in the Virgin Islands and that relief food had been diverted to British possessions were made today by Paul Yates, former Assistant Governor of the islands, who arrived on the liner Coamo with eight other witnesses to testify before the Senate committee investigating the administration of Governor Pearson.

The inquiry, in which hearings already have been held in the islands, followed bitter factional strife in which Mr. Yates was ousted by Governor Pearson last October. The Pearson supporters charge that the real reason for the attacks on the Governor is a desire to introduce a "spoils system" in the insular government.

The anti-Pearsonites have also attacked Secretary of Interior Ickes because, the Pearsonites say, he has supported the Governor, a Hoover appointee.

Mr. Yates acted as spokesman today for the other arriving witnesses, who included two former government attorneys and several members of colonial councils in the islands.

"What will be disclosed is important to every State in the union and to all of America's territories because the course Secretary Ickes has followed in the Virgin Islands is that followed in all other places where he has handled relief funds," said Mr. Yates.

Virgin Islanders Rejoice at Going of Gov. Pearson

Natives, However, Regret Leaving of Judge T. Webber Wilson.

CRAMER APPOINTEE, WAS PEARSON AIDE

May Not Be Popular for This Reason.

NEW YORK CITY—"The dove of peace seemed to hover over St. Croix Tuesday when the news of Governor Pearson's resignation became known," editorially commented the St. Croix Tribune, according to word just reaching here.

This comment came, however, before news of Lawrence Cramer's selection as the new governor. The only clue as to how Cramer will be received is contained in the closing statement of the Tribune editorial which said:

"What is very paramount at this moment is the removal of those members of his (the governor's) staff who will carry on reprisals and thus prevent conditions from returning to normal. Washington will not complete its job until it removes the trouble-maker.

"When this is done the warship may leave the port of St. Thomas while the people join in singing, 'Happy Days Are Here Again.'"

Cramer Pearson Aide

Cramer has been, for four years lieutenant-governor, and was the personal selection of Governor Pearson. The general feeling in the island is of regret over the transfer of Judge T. Webber Wilson, here in New York.

Ashley L. Totten, president of the Virgin Islands Civic and Industrial Association, and secretary-treasurer of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, expressed delight that civil government continues in the islands.

Pleased With Change

"Personally, I have always considered the governor a well-meaning man and interested in the common people. I am pleased with the change, particularly since it keeps the islands under civil rule and does not turn it over to the navy. Under the circumstances, the shuffling around of islands officials was about the easiest way out."

The AFRO failed after several attempts to locate Caspar Holstein, president of the Virgin Islands Congressional Council, for a statement.

Holstein was chief opponent of Pearson and was also charged by Pearson with furnishing funds which kept the islands fires burning.

What Will Cramer Do?

The naming of Lawrence Cramer, former lieutenant-governor of the Virgin Islands, as governor by President Roosevelt will in no wise improve conditions in the islands, as Mr. Cramer is a part and parcel of the Pearson regime and enjoys much of the hatred expressed against Pearson by the natives. As far as the islands are concerned, the situation is practically at status quo.

The people are bitter against Pearson and all his aides and assistants. The grave danger lies in whether Mr. Cramer, as a carry-over from the Pearson organization will use his new powers to punish those who opposed the Pearson administration, whether he will retain all the objectionable features and officials of the old order, or whether he will begin with a new slate.

These matters are of vital importance to the solution of the problem from the islanders' viewpoint.

Dr. Pearson Loses a Job

WHILE President Roosevelt's removal of Governor Paul M. Pearson and Judge T. Wilson Webber from their posts in the Virgin Islands closes one unhappy episode in the history of the islands, we are loath to advance the opinion that happiness and satisfaction lie ahead for the 22,000 American wards there.

Mr. Roosevelt has appointed Lawrence W. Cramer, lieutenant-governor of St. Croix, to Dr. Pearson's post. Mr. Cramer is a white man, born in New Orleans. He is thirty-seven years old.

The new governor received two degrees at the University of Wisconsin, a liberal center of culture, and spent a few years at Columbia University as graduate student and instructor in government. For four years he has seen service as an administrative officer in the Virgin Islands.

While Mr. Cramer's education and experience should have served to contribute to the stature necessary to govern an underprivileged people, we are disappointed. We believe Mr. Roosevelt could have found a native Virgin Islander with equal or higher qualifications. Where can you find a people who will receive with complete gratification an administrator of a different race and culture?

If our President could not persuade himself to accept the background, education and intelligence in a native, he could have given the islanders an American Negro governor with social vision.

Since he has chosen to do neither, we suggest that Mr. Roosevelt grant the islanders at least a larger share in working out their salvation.

There have been charges of graft, inefficiency, dictatorship and lesser evils hurled at Dr. Pearson. If an enervating system has been created by American rule, it will not disappear merely because one of Dr. Pearson's assistants has succeeded him. Mr. Cramer should receive orders to establish a just, enlightened administration which affords every native the right to liberty, work and education.

British Marines Guarding Island

Three Slain In Battles By St. Vincent Negroes In Rioting Against Whites

KINGSTOWN, ST. VINCENT, B. W. I., Oct. 22—(AP)—Rioting negro strikers, disdaining martial law, tonight blocked Kingstown off from the rest of the island to end two days of disorders in which three of their number were shot to death.

While armed bluejackets from a British warship patrolled the streets, the hoodlums tore down the Camden Park bridge on the highway connecting the capital with the leeward district. Telephone poles were uprooted and placed across the road.

At the same time an underground passage on the highway between Kingstown and the windward district was destroyed, blocking traffic in that direction.

Massed strikers demonstrated at Byerashill and Camden Park, near here and a grocery store in the latter place was looted. Kingstown, largely deserted after yesterday's troubles, was generally quiet throughout the day.

Belligerent negroes, angered by labor troubles and aroused because of race feeling as a result of the Italo-Ethiopian war, were restrained by marines with bayonets on hillsides outside the town, after rioting had flared again this morning. It was feared they would attempt to avenge the fatal wounding Monday of three rioters.

The disorders, the culmination of months of labor troubles, broke out after a mass demonstration of laborers Monday. The rioters wrecked the cars of Gov. Sir Selwyn Grier, a Supreme Court judge and the attorney general, and held the governor prisoner until he agreed to discuss the situation with their representatives.

The mob looted homes and stores in Kingstown, Georgetown and Chateaubelair, and invaded homes along the roads connecting the towns as the crowd marched along carrying sticks, clubs, stones and iron bars.

Haiti.

Race Problem—1935

West Indies.

DICTATORSHIP has been established in Haiti. President Sténio Vincent has removed the Senate majority of eleven which had opposed his policies. By his orders a docile majority of the Chamber of Deputies has picked eleven other senators. The *modus operandi* of this coup d'état was as follows: A nation-wide "plebiscite" was called by Vincent to express approval or disapproval of the policies expounded by him in a recent public address. These included the purchase by the Haitian government of the Banque d'Haiti from the National City Bank of New York, and the creation of a monopoly for the export of bananas. As the purpose and manner of this "grande consultation nationale" was clearly foreseen by every thinking Haitian, the Senate majority declared that this method of securing legislation was wholly unconstitutional, and that it would not be bound thereby. The referendum, indeed, proved the crudest and most barefaced fraud. In conducting it Vincent took a leaf out of the United States marine corps book. When in 1917 our military desired a new constitution, prepared in Washington, for Haiti, they dissolved the duly elected Haitian Congress for refusing to vote it, and then conducted a plebiscite for its ratification. At that time Sténio Vincent —a patriot fighting for the freedom of his people—protested against this illegality. The marines used ballots of two colors, marked respectively *oui* and *non,* and there was an obvious scarcity of the latter; in many polling places they were literally not available. The Haitian referendum of February 10, 1935, used the same technique. The result was announced as 454,357 *oui's* against 1,172 *non's*—a ratio of 400 to one!

A PRESIDENTIAL DECREE thereupon declared that since the eleven senators had placed their will above that of the people, and since their attitude constituted a rebellion against the popular sovereignty, they could be considered as having resigned, and the Chamber of Deputies was called upon to choose eleven other senators to replace the "rebels." This was done. Thus the legislative branch in Haiti has become a rubber stamp, thanks to the force supplied by the efficient Garde, trained by United States marines. The eleven senators are men of proved courage, men who more than any others embody the brains and character in Haitian public life. They opposed Vincent's measures partly because of intrinsic objections to the projects themselves, partly because they foresaw his now manifest objective of overthrowing representative government and, contrary to express constitutional provisions, perpetuating himself in office when his term expires in 1936. The tragic aspect of this whole indecent business is its needlessness. The opposition to Vincent has been wholly parliamentary, analogous to the opposition in the United States Senate to some of the Administration's measures. Haiti, having recovered its independence and its own civil government, had every prospect for an orderly, civilized administration, for contentment and peace. Vincent, who for years was enlisted in seeking these objectives, has now destroyed the possibility of their realization. He has headed his country into a course which is pathetically predictable. The civil liberties which he has already largely suppressed will become extinct. And if official violence breeds resentment, retaliation, and chaos, the blame will belong to Sténio Vincent.

TARIFF CUTS MADE IN U.S.-HAITIAN PACT

Fourth of the New Reciprocal Treaties Is Signed While 13 More Are Being Negotiated.

MANY PRODUCTS BENEFIT

These Include American Meat, Leather and Machinery, and Haitian Rum and Coffee.

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, March 28.—Tariff reductions on a wide range of articles are provided in a reciprocal trade agreement with Haiti signed at the State Department today on the basis of unconditional most-favored-nation treatment.

The agreement is the fourth concluded since Secretary Hull undertook his tariff program. Previously, agreements had been made with Cuba, Brazil and Belgium. Negotiations for agreements are being conducted with thirteen other governments.

The Haitian agreement is subject to approval of the Congress at Port au Prince and will become effective thirty days after it has been proclaimed by the Presidents of the United States and of Haiti. It will run for a minimum of three years and thereafter indefinitely, unless denounced on six months' notice.

Haitian concessions relate to products of which the United States is either the chief source of supply, or is in a position to compete favorably with other supplying countries. The concessions include import duty reductions on thirteen tariff items, four of which apply only to alternative ad valorem rates, contingent import duty reductions on three tariff items, and the binding against increase of import duty rates on nineteen tariff items.

Categories Are Wide.

Some of these tariff items are broad in scope and include a wide range of commodities, such as electrical machinery, apparatus and appliances for industrial use, the rate on which is bound against increase. The reductions range from one-fourth to two-thirds of the present duties.

Reductions are accorded a number of commodities imported into Haiti in considerable volume from the United States, including some leathers, sewing machines, some fresh meat, some fresh canned and dried fruits, cheese, butter, prepared milk, malted milk and infants' food.

Haiti further agrees to accord duty concessions on lard, radios and appliances and automobile tires when the government budget of expenditures is promulgated in the amount of 40,000,000 gourdes [$8,000,000] or more.

The duties that Haiti agrees not to increase above the present levels apply to glass, iron and steel pipe and fittings, some medicines and pharmaceuticals, a variety of electrical machines and apparatus for industrial use, automobiles, trucks, buses, automotive parts and accessories, prepared beef and pork, common wines, some mineral waters and cigarettes. The total export trade value of the commodities that will benefit under the agreement amounted in 1929 to $623,000.

Many Items Already Free.

The number of items upon which reductions in duty are granted by the United States to Haiti is not large because few important products imported from Haiti are dutiable.

Duty free admission into the United States is to be continued for Haitian coffee, cocoa beans, sisal fibre, logwood, bananas and ginger root, and reductions are provided in the present American duties on rum, fresh pineapples, and mangos and guavas in preserved form.

The duty on rum is lowered from $5 per proof gallon to $2.50, this in turn meaning a reduction in the rate to Cuba from $2.50 to $2, in view of the 20 per cent preference Cuba enjoys. On fresh pineapples the reduction is from 1 1-6 cents each in bulk and from 50 cents a crate to 9-10 cents each and 35 cents a crate. On mango and guava pastes and pulps the reduction is from 35 to 28 per cent ad valorem and on guavas, prepared or preserved, from 35 to 17½ per cent ad valorem.

However, in view of the large proportion of Haitian imports into the United States already admitted free of duty (89 per cent during 1933) the principal American concession to Haiti consists of the guarantee of continued free entry of products amounting to $477,000, or 59 per cent of the total during 1933.

An additional assurance is that sugar imported from Haiti on which a drawback of duty is allowed shall not be charged against the Haitian quota, under the sugar control system now in force.

Trade Pact Signed By U. S. and Haiti

WASHINGTON, March 28.—(AP)—The United States and Haiti signed today a reciprocal trade agreement.

The pact assures Haiti of the continued duty-free admission into the United States of coffee, cocoa beans, sisal fiber, logwood and ginger root, and reduced duties on rum, fresh pineapples and preserved mangos and guavas.

In return Haiti granted tariff reductions on 13 American products, pledged itself to maintain existing rates on 19 articles, and promised to reduce the tariff on land, automobile, tires and tubes, and radios when the Haitian financial condition improves.

White Man Nominated As U. S. Minister To Haiti

WASINGTON, D. C.—President Franklin D. Roosevelt on Monday nominated George A. Gordon of New York to be Minister to Haiti.

With the nomination which will probably be confirmed this week, was blasted another hope of Negroes that a member of the race would be selected for the post as was formerly the custom prior to the Woodrow Wilson administration.

JUST A WORD TO HAITI

A casual observer from the United States and one who appears somewhat inclined to hope for the best in Haitian life, offers timely advice to President Stenio Vincent of that republic. He complains that human life in the Republic of Haiti is about on par, insofar as security goes, with Cuba, under the reign of President Machado.

The writer points to a recent political murder which had its purpose, design and cause closely entwined in the re-election of President Vincent. And in the course of his discussion, he reaches the conclusion that President Vincent has been made the creature of designing men who are leading him to believe that their interest in him is motivated by their interest in the Republic.

However, in their political plotting, they are about to destroy the very thing which gave Haiti its sovereignty. The Republic fought a valiant battle to relieve itself of the tyrants whose conduct of Haitian affairs brought in the American marines. Now they are inviting their return by refusing to recognize their own constitution.

The Haitian constitution declares in Article 76:

"The President of the Republic is elected for six years; he is not immediately re-eligible. He takes his office on the 16th day of May of the year of his election, unless he is elected to fill out a vacancy; in that case he takes office from the date of his election and his term comes to an end six years after, counting from the 15th of May which precedes his election."

Any move to amend the constitution while the President is in power, and especially when that attempt has been accompanied already by murder of those who oppose it, looks, even to an innocent bystander, like an effort upon the part of those in power to establish themselves permanently, regardless of the people's wishes.

Haiti cannot take her place in world respectability by such conduct. Should her own conduct occasion the return of the American marines, she can rest assured that they will remain for some time. It would be not a waste of time for President Vincent to re-read his history. He may profit by some of its repetitions. The sword does not stimulate patriotism, nor does tyranny create confidence.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.
REPUBLICAN

MAY 25 1935

HAITI'S NEGRO DICTATOR

The Republic Under Negro Rulers Who Suppress Negro Liberties

To the Editor of The Republican:—

Now they cannot tell it to the marines, nor charge it against them either. The Negroes who rule Haiti are suppressing the liberties of their own people. President Stenio Vincent is a fascist dictator in miniature: as Mussolini and Hitler break treaties and violate "the law of nations," so also does Vincent violate the constitution and the laws of his country.

In Haiti recently I was accorded more courtesy than I could claim by the president and his supporters, which could not blind me to the terror which I saw threatening the independent leaders and thinkers who happen to be opposed to the administration's policies and to Vincent's ambition to stay in power, in spite of the constitution.

Since returning to the United States I have been receiving letters from eminent Haitian people, which they are afraid to send through the mails of their country, lest their personal and constitutional rights be violated by the minions of the president and their private correspondence be confiscated and used against them. Some of these men are among the highest elective officials of the country. None of the communications received would be treasonable in any state except dictatorships like Germany and Haiti. In no civilized court of a free people could any of these letters be used against the writers.

Yet they have deemed it advisable, in most cases, to send these letters by messengers, when some patriotic and trustworthy Haitian was making a journey to New York. It is a sad commentary that after a 20-year fight to "restore the liberty" of the Haitian people, we see that under the colored ruler, which they have set over themselves, they have less freedom of speech than they had under the American marines. They dare not speak out now as they spoke out against the "ocupation." We knew and published the names of those who opposed the continued presence of the United States armed forces, but I dare not publish the names of the writers of these simple letters, lest I expose them to ruin at the hands of the man whom they elected chief executive for a six-year term five years ago.

Recently some of these men have heard, perhaps through returning visitors, that the Crisis magazine will carry an article on present Haitian politics in its June issue. And following are two paragraphs from a letter just received from eminent Haitian patriots:—

"Our situation is growing worse We have no more press or legislative chambers which can control the administration.

"We are waiting for your contribution to the June Crisis issue. We hope it will reach us, although the postoffice here is not sure."

High officials of government cannot trust private communications to the mails of their country, and may be attacked for even daring to possess and read criticisms directed against the administration from foreign sources. And that reminds me of something which I have not told before: Before going to Haiti I directed that my mail be sent in care of President Vincent, at the palace. When I received one long and important-looking envelope from the States, it had been opened, doubtless "by mistake," but the young secretary to the president delivered that parcel to me with manifest embarrassment and excessive politeness, and offered no explanation. I asked none.

For nearly 150 years Haitians have made a glorious fight for their freedom against enemies without and for their liberties against tyrants within. It seems that they must still fight. Evidently liberty and freedom are not something that you achieve, but something that you must be always achieving. It is not a condition. It is a process.

On the public square hard by the palace stands an iron statue of Dessalines. Dessalines the Terrible was as truly the achiever of Haitian liberty as Toussaint the Great was its conceiver. That iron statue of Dessalines, the unruly slave, the unconquerable fugitive, and finally the ruthless general and emperor, faces the palace and holds in its hand an uplifted sword.

WILLIAM PICKENS

New York city, May 23, 1935.

Race Problem—1935

Haiti

West Indies.

Round Trip Fare to Haiti Only $121, Afro Finds

Living Cheap for American Tourists in Excellent Quarters. Servants' Pay Is $8 a Month. Men's Suits Cost $6. Taxi Cab Fare Only 5 Cents.

By RAYFORD LOGAN
Special Correspondent of the AFRO-AMERICAN.

This article is written to supply the information requested in last week's AFRO-AMERICAN by Miss O. L. Robinson of Memphis, Tennessee. It should serve at the same time to answer similar questions in the mind of other prospective visitors to the one predominantly colored republic in the Western Hemisphere.

Round-trip tickets, first class, good for six months during the summer season, may be obtained on the Dutch Lines for $121.50, including landing taxes. No passport is required. For the benefit of persons not accustomed to sea travel, it may not be superfluous to point out that one's ticket pays also for three meals, an appetizer at about ten-thirty, and teak Deck chairs for the entire trip only cost one dollar. Tips to the cabin steward, dining room steward, stewardess, and bath steward total about one-tenth of the cost of passage. Many passengers give less than that.

Beautiful Homes in Haiti

There are many beautiful homes in Haiti. They have been intelligently constructed to afford the maximum of air and permit a minimum of heat. The homes of the wealthy have electric lights, showers, and electric refrigerators. Most of them have landscaped court yards filled with fragrant tropical flowers and trees. Frequently these yards have large outdoor baths and swimming pools.

The rent of these houses has been high during the American Occupation for many of them were leased by the high officials of the Marine Corps and the diplomatic service. The home occupied by the present American minister is one of the finest that I have seen anywhere.

Rent $50 a Month

I should say that a suitable home could be leased today for something under fifty dollars a month.

Servants are considerably cheaper. A "bonne a toute faire," that is a maid who can cook, serve table, wash and iron, and clean house, costs about eight dollars a month. The principal shortcoming of these servants is the fact that few of them speak French since creole is the common language of the poorer classes.

The lower middle class homes in the cities are, naturally, more modest. Here again, a comparison with the homes of persons on the same economic level in Cuba is profitable. Havana is filled with tenements like those on the East Side in New York. There is probably not a single tenement in Haiti. In my opinion, the individual house of the day laborer in Haiti is far superior to the crowded tenements of Cuba.

Peasant Homes Clean

Practically all travelers in Haiti during the past century have lauded the cleanliness of the Haitian peasant homes. These are quite humble—of dried mud with thatched roof although a few of them have a roof of tin or of galvanized iron.

Most visitors, however, prefer to stay in a hotel. At the Hotel Bellevue we paid five dollars a day for room and board for the two of us. We had a large room with our own veranda. There is no running water in the rooms but modern showers and toilets are conveniently located. The food was excellent.

What Haitians Eat

In Haiti one can get not only nearly any kind of food obtainable in the United States but in addition many delicious tropical fruits. For breakfast we generally had orange juice, a melon quite similar to our "honey dew," cereal, bacon and eggs and coffee. Dinner consisted of melon, an entree—fish or lobster, for example, mutton lamb, chicken or turkey with peas, carrots, plantains and yams, then the "national dish" of kidney beans and rice, followed by a salad especially the delicious alligator pear, and dessert of fruit, pastry or ice cream. The sour sop cream is particularly refreshing.

Supper was a slight variation with soup replacing the melon. Milk was frequently condensed but the butter, produced in increasing quantities in the island instead of being almost exclusively imported from Denmark, was as good is the best in this country. The coffee, of course, is one of the best in the world.

Food Costs Little

If one lived at home, food would cost but little. Bananas, oranges, limes grow in the garden. Many of the richer homes also have their vegetable garden. Meats, especially chicken and turkey, are very cheap. It is safe to say that when one is living at home food is the smallest item in the budget.

The foreign traveler can purchase in the larger cities almost anything to which he is accustomed at home. Practically every widely advertised brand of toilet article, medicinal supply, canned good radios, automobiles, tires, are on sale. Naturally, the price is somewhat higher, about one-third on an average, I should say. This is reasonable in view of the distance and the tariff.

Men Wear White

Most men wear white linen suits made to order for about six dollars. Clothes for women are generally made by private dressmakers. I am speaking, of course, of those worn by the elite. Since all forms of labor are cheap, the fashionable ladies have a wardrobe of exquisite gowns at a relatively low price.

No Heat in Homes

An important item in the American budget that does not appear in the Haitian living expense is the cost of heating. At no time during the year is it necessary to heat the house.

The clubs of Haiti are quite "swanky." Both the Port au Prince Club and the Bellevue Club compare favorably with the best in the United States, England or France. We attended a reception given at the Port au Prince Club in honor of the officers of the Argentine training ship, Presidente Sarmiento. For ellegance of manners, beauty of women, and distinction of men, I have never seen anything superior in ten different countries.

While these clubs are opened to non-members only on special occasions, the visitor or resident may always go to "Kahl's," in Petionville, or to the recently opened "L'Ermitage," also in Petionville for dinner and dancing in a delightfully cool spot.

Of course, one enjoys all of these places to the utmost because there is no segregation, no danger of being insulted or of being made to feel uncomfortable.

Taxi Cab Costs 5 Cents

Taxicabs are very cheap. Just as in Chicago, for example, one may go anywhere along South Parkway for ten cents if one does not object to riding with several fellow passengers, just so in Port au Prince one may go anywhere for a nickel. How the drivers make a living is a mystery for gasoline costs thirty cents a gallon. At any rate, taxicabs have made the horse and buggy as obsolete in Port au Prince as the hansom cabs in Central Park, New York City.

For trips out of the city most travelers prefer the automobile. The buses are usually overcrowded and dirty. The railroad from Port au Prince to St. Marc is slow and irregular. A private automobile from the capital to visit the citadel of Christophe costs about forty dollars for the trip, one day up, one day to visit, and the third to return.

Sail Boats Unsafe

Water travel is particularly unsafe. A sail boat recently sank off the southwestern coast with the loss of some twenty lives, half of whom were members of the family of a member of congress. The Albatross, a sail boat on which I had originally planned to go to Mole Saint Nicholas, sank on its return trip with a loss of all on board except three sailors.

Until the new resident has had an opportunity to perfect his French, he will find many persons who speak English, some of whom are very competent teachers of French.

Everybody Free in Haiti

But the greatest satisfaction that one derives from living in Haiti is the joy of being a "free man on free soil," on soil ruled by a colored president with a colored congress, colored judges, colored teachers, colored policemen, colored firemen, colored mayors. Only the National City Bank spoils the picture. Colored America should continue to watch carefully events in Haiti so that in the future, as in the past, it can help to inform America about conditions in the island where a skeptical world is observing the black man's capacity for self-government.

IN DEFENSE OF HAITI.

Deeply moved by the campaign of misrepresentation viciously carried on by white Americans in stories disparaging Haiti, the Rt. Rev. Harry Roberts Carson, Bishop of Haiti, has written a letter to the editor of The New York Times, expressing the surprise and regret he has experienced in reading certain newspaper and magazine articles and listening to radio broadcasts which gave a false and inaccurate picture of the black republic. To the "true stories" concerning Haiti written by men of the U. S. Marine Corps recently attached to the American Occupation, the Churchman particularly takes exception. He writes in part:

I think I am fairly well acquainted after a residence of twelve years to speak of this republic and its people and I have no hesitation in saying that the Haitian people and the Haitian nation that I am acquainted with are something just the posite to that which is described by literary fighting men. My experience and judgment run parallel to that of a French Minister to Haiti who recently wrote somewhat as follows: "An enchanting island populated by a hospitable people, hard-working, highly courageous, working under the handicap of a people who have fought for more than a century against the most stupid prejudices."

Bishop Carson further declares:

The belittling and disparaging of a nation like Haiti that has so little to put up in the way of self-defense, is a sorry business. Of course the people are black and their language is other than the English language, and they do not for the most part know what is being written about them. It partakes of cowardice. And then to have the stigma of "cannibalism" upon them! It is contemptible cowardice. I have been wondering whether these recent authors, men of the United States Marine Corps, realize how disloyal they are to their commander-in-chief. He has been trying to cultivate kindly relations particularly with smaller nations and overcome their distaste for

Americans by kindliness and good will. His subordinates do not hesitate to ridicule and seduce. This is not a fantastic republic. The present political condition of Louisiana is worse than that of Haiti ever was, even in the days when Smedley Butler gained Congressional honors.

Bishop Carson refers to the recent visit of President Vincent to the White House where he was honored guest and of the warm welcome President Roosevelt received last July at Capt Haiti. He brands as false the charge made in a book recently published in New York that its statesmen are cousins to cannibals. "All the public men whom I have the honor to know, and I know many of them, are possessed of such culture and refinement, dignity and balance which seem to be utterly lacking in their detractors," he says.

It has been repeatedly charged by The New York Age that a tacit understanding exists among a none too honorable and truthful element of white Americans to misrepresent and disparage in every way possible the Haitian, Liberian, colored American, in fact Negroes everywhere. A high churchman has substantiated this claim, so far as the Haitian is concerned.

During the World War when the 92nd Division was in France, this contingent of colored fighters from the United States was garrisoned near white troops from their own native land. The white Americans gave the French people an exhibition of the brand of nationalism and brotherly love that exists in Uncle Sam's domain by circulating the statement that colored Americans had tails. This slander only whetted the curiosity of the French, who found out otherwise.

There seems to be little difference between the technique of those who sought to defame their own countrymen abroad and the U. S. Marines who are libeling the Haitians—except the soldiers lied with their mouths and the marines lied with pen or typewriter.

Jailed Fighter for Haiti's Freedom Calls for Support From American Workers

Young Revolutionary Leader Charged With Importing Arms and Munitions Into Haiti on "Incriminating" Evidence of Books and Papers

By LUCILE PERRY
Colonial Department
International Labor Defense

"TEN officers armed with machine guns brought Roumain into Court!"

The speaker was Antonio Martinez, a seaman who had come up to the National Office of the International Labor Defense to tell the story of his own arrest in Haiti and that of Jacques Roumain, youthful leader of the Communist Party of Haiti, recently sentenced to three years imprisonment, with whom he shared a cell. Martinez was arrested last August in Port au Prince, one day before the arrest of Roumain, when he went on shore-leave from a ship of the Columbia Line on which he had shipped from New York.

"They guarded him as if he were a wild animal," Martinez continued. He went on to tell of the farcical trial Roumain was given by the military tribunal. The young revolutionary leader was charged with importing arms and munitions into Haiti. This charge was made by Chief of Detectives Mode, who had investigated Roumain's home and gathered the "incriminating" evidence. It consisted of such explosive things as books and papers. "Roumain asked Mode if he found any arms. Mode said 'No.' But they sentenced him to three years at hard labor for introducing arms into Haiti."

Just a Frame-up

"Of course there weren't any arms," Martinez added, "it was a plain frame-up."

Later Roumain won an appeal before the Court of Appeals. But the court was afraid of the military tribunal and upheld the decision.

After the trial, Roumain was taken to the national penitentiary where he was held incommunicado for 55 days. He is still there, together with J. Jolibois, G. Petit, M. Collard, M. Hudicourt and two other political prisoners who were arrested shortly before Roumain and sentenced to two years hard labor and $1,000 fine each for having printed and distributed an article from the French paper, "Cri des Negres."

I asked Martinez about his own arrest. He told me he had been met by detectives when he went off his ship at Port au Prince. He was a dangerous Communist, they told him, and hauled him off to jail. With the consent of the captain of the ship, they broke into Martinez' locker where they found two letters he had been asked to deliver in New York and some Haitian newspapers. Nothing more. But it was sufficient for the Haitian authorities to hold Martinez in jail for more than four months.

"The day after my arrest, that was the day they brought Roumain in, the Minister of Justice visited me and asked who had written the letters. When I refused to tell, he threatened to have me lashed," Martinez said.

The next day he was visited by the Chief of Detectives who told him he would be kept in jail 20 or 25 years if he refused to tell who had written the letters. When Martinez still refused to tell, they placed him in solitary confinement and held him incommunicado for forty days. At the end of that period he was transferred to the National Penitentiary where Roumain was held.

I asked Martinez about conditions in the jails. For example, how are the beds? The question was a little too naive for him. He smiled patiently and pointed to his shirt.

Slept on Wet Floor

"This was my bed in the first jail." Forty days sleeping on a shirt on the floor! No one to talk with! In addition, I was cold, the windows and walls leaked badly and since it rained most of the time, the floor was constantly wet."

Martinez continued, "I the National Penitentiary things were much more luxurious. They gave us fibre mats to sleep on. For pillows, we used our shoes and for bedding, our clothes."

And the food—how was it? The seaman made a wry face. "As a special favor, they let me have the same food given the guards. But it was so terrible, I couldn't eat most of the time, so you can imagine what the regular prison food is like."

Roumain and the other prisoners managed to subsist only because their families sent food to them regularly. Because of the filth in the jails and the fact that there is no soap, many of the prisoners have contracted skin diseases. There is a prison hospital, but not a drop of medicine in it.

Thousands of Bed Bugs

The prison cells are alive with vermin. Martinez described it: 'About ten thousand bed bugs and lice to each cell . . . but no cockroaches. There was nothing for them to eat. Or, perhaps the bed bugs ate them."

He told me that Roumain and the six other Haitians held with him had gone on strike December 20, refusing to see visitors in protest against the action of the authorities in compelling visitors to stay so far away from the prisoners that a conversation could be carried on only by shouting. All writing material and books had been taken away from the prisoners and they were permitted to send out letters only if they were approved by the warden.

When Martinez left, Roumain was very sick with malaria.

Message from Roumain

Just before Martinez was released, Roumain asked him to bring the following message to the International Labor Defense.

"I was arrested because I fought for the freedom of Haiti. Only mass protest, especially on the part of workers and intellectuals in the country whose imperialism oppresses Haiti, the United States, will force the release of myself and the other victims of the Haitian terror. I am sure that the International Labor Defense will rally every friend of freedom in the United States to answer our appeal for help."

There is widespread resentment throughout Haiti against the frame-up of Roumain and the other prisoners. With elections approaching, President Vincent is especially alarmed at the proportions of the protest movement. A simultaneous fight in the United States would help tremendously in making the Haitian gentleman who carry out orders for Wall Street release the valiant fighters for the freedom of Haiti.

Haiti's Fiscal Freedom

After nineteen years the American flag was lowered last August over the Marine Corps Barracks at Cap Haitien and the Haitian flag was raised in its place. American Marines stationed there sailed for home that day.

Another stage in Haitian progress toward self-reliance was reached today this month when President Sténio Vincent's effort to free Haiti from American financial control received a popular indorsement of more than 400 to 1 in a plebiscite. The Haitian Senate had rejected his proposed contract to buy the Banque Nationale de la République d'Haïti from American interests. But only 1,158 votes were cast in support of the Senate's stand while there were 436,838 votes back of President Vincent.



Wide World

Sténio Vincent

Altho the opposition had branded the referendum as unconstitutional, and declared in advance it would not be bound by the result, correspondents at Port au Prince said the overwhelming weight of public opinion behind the President undoubtedly would have its effect.

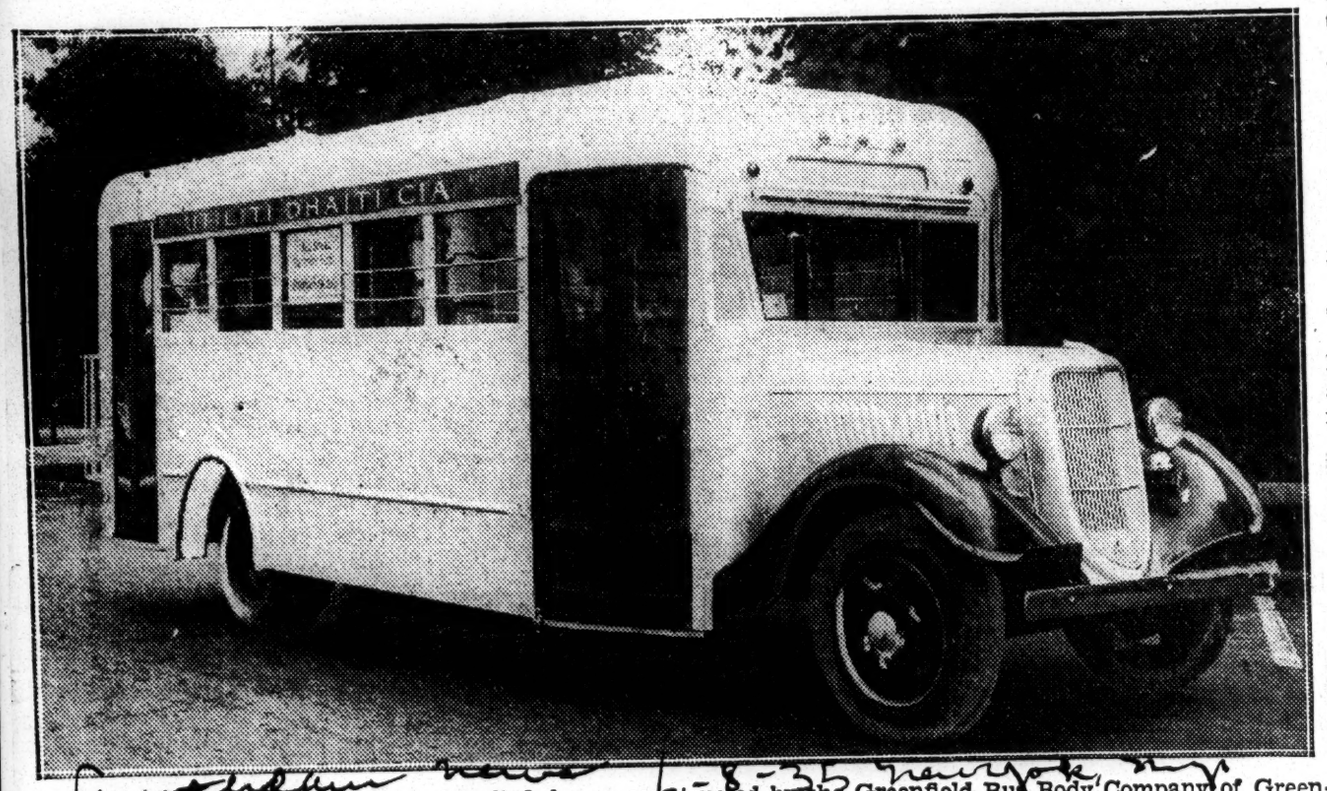
President Vincent took the step with the support of the Chamber of Deputies, which approved the contract. The vote was considered a great personal victory for him. After the plebiscite he was acclaimed everywhere. Port au Prince, seaport capital, gave his project 33,254 votes against 228. President Vincent was elected to office on November 18, 1930, and his term expires on May 15, 1936.

Race Problem - 1935

West Indies.

Haiti.

Buses En Route to Haiti



ONE OF THE THREE all-steel-bodied buses constructed by the Greenfield Bus Body Company of Greenfield, O., for regular service in Port-Au-Prince is shown as it appeared on arrival here Tuesday. The three machines were shipped Thursday to the Utiliti D'Haiti of Port-Au-Prince.

FIRST HAITIAN BUSES ON WAY

3 Machines Brought Here Tuesday From Greenfield, O.

The first three of the all-steel bodied passenger buses which will be used on the new line in Port-Au-Prince were aboard the Ss. Haiti yesterday en route to the Black Republic.

The three buses were driven here Wednesday from Greenfield, O., by Postell Patterson, sales manager of the Greenfield Bus Body Company, and S. H. Jennings, expert body builder, who has been with the company for sixteen years. The machines were placed aboard the Ss. Haiti and shipped Thursday to the Utiliti D'Haiti Company of Port-Au-Prince.

The buses have all steel bodies and will accommodate fifty passengers, twenty-five seated and twenty-five standing.

The bodies were constructed by the Greenfield Bus Body Company, which was founded in 1865 by the late C. R. Patterson. The company has been carried on by three generations of the Patterson family to the present time. Upon the death of the founder, his son, the late F. D. Patterson, took charge of the factory.

The grandsons of the founder, Fred, Jr., and Postell, are now in active charge of the establishment. The former designs the bodies in which the company specializes. The latter serves as sales manager.

HAITI GOES AHEAD UNDER SELF-RULE

Republic Builds on Foundation Laid by American Marines in Long Occupancy.

FINANCES STILL PROBLEM

By HARWOOD HULL.

Special Correspondence, THE NEW YORK TIMES.

PORT AU PRINCE, Haiti.—Aug. 15 is a notable day in Haitian history. On that date one year ago the last of the United States marines sailed away after military occupancy of the Afro-Latin republic for nineteen years.

On the same date 115 years ago King Christophe, most picturesque as well as the most despotic of Haitian chieftains, was stricken while alone at mass at his chapel at Limonade.

King Christophe left as his greatest monument the Citadel, incomplete at his death after fourteen years of feverish building, an impregnable stronghold which still stands as a marvel of engineering skill and a monument to human energy. The American Marines left behind as their monument the foundation for a new Haiti—a Haiti financially restored, sovereign and sanitary.

The passing of the first unsupervised year may well mark the beginning of a new era for Haiti. Certain it is that at its close, to a greater degree than at any time in the past half-century, Haiti is standing on her own feet. It has not all been clear sailing, nor is there only fair weather ahead.

A Year's Events.

President Stenio Vincent briefly outlined what, in his judgment, had been the outstanding events of the year. He listed them in the following order:

(1) Final departure of the marines;

(2) Conclusion of a new commercial treaty with the United States.

(3) Renewal of a treaty with France which insures the continuance of a market for Haitian coffee, the country's leading crop.

(4) Purchase of the Banque Nationale de la Republique d'Haiti from the National City Bank of New York, a transaction only recently concluded.

There might be listed also President Vincent's visit at the White House and President Roosevelt's return call at Cap Haitian in July, 1934, for that exchange of visits paved the way for what was to follow.

President Vincent made no reference to the plebiscite of last February, reportedly the first of its kind ever held in the republic, when, by an overwhelming vote, approval was given to his bank-purchase plan. This involved the unseating of a majority of the country's Senators opposed to the banking project and the naming of others who voted for it. Nor did he refer to the fact that in June, by another election, the term of the President was extended for a five-year period from next May, with one more year for Senators—a procedure involving a constitutional change.

But, after declaring, "We have done our best with our modest resources," President Vincent admitted, with a shy smile, that Haiti has some politicians who are dissatisfied. His statement was a left-handed compliment to the Opposition.

Conditions in 1915.

To appreciate the Haiti of today one must have known the Haiti of twenty years or more ago—the Haiti to which the marines went in July, 1915, and before.

For more than a century Haiti has been an independent republic, with freedom won from France. But by 1915 this Black Republic, despite many past glories, with its mixture of French culture and tribal customs, its Paris sophistication and jungle simplicity, had become nationally impotent and internationally almost an outcast. President followed President in rapid succession, elected by bullets. The treasury was constantly empty. Debts were repudiated until the country no longer could either borrow or pay. Then President Guillaume Sam was butchered and his mutilated body was carried through the streets. Haiti was helpless but not hopeless when President Wilson stepped in with the marines to lend a hand.

HAITIAN LEADER



Times Wide World.

President Vincent, who helped Haiti stand on her own feet.

Port au Prince today is spick-and-span. Her public buildings glisten and every morning her streets are carefully cleaned. Thoroughfares are no longer used for garbage or gutters for sewage. It is as healthy a capital city as can be found in the Caribbean. The lessons of simple sanitation have been learned for all time, leading Haitians maintain.

The government is poor. Out of a total budget of $6,000,000 for a country of 3,000,000 people, President Vincent said, $2,000,000 went

last year for debt service. Government revenue is derived chiefly from taxes on imports and exports. The peasants live almost wholly on what the country produces, and may actually see little money during a period of years. Enough cash for calico and other cloth may be all the money required.

There is a very definite élite class, found in government service and the professions mostly, a cultured group educated in France—men and women of great charm. They are the high-hats of Haiti. Today, while they are no more humble than before the marine occupation, they are giving some thought to the country as a whole.

More attention is being paid to education. Some of the undertakings started by American experts and technicians have been abandoned, others modified, now that Haiti has made a new start. But it was the exaggeration of some of these educational plans and policies, devised by civilians, which caused the greatest antagonism during the marine régime.

Emphasis Shifted.

Much of lasting benefit, however, was accomplished, and it would be wholly wrong to suggest that the educational efforts of the past two decades had been abandoned. Rather there has been a shifting of stress.

President Vincent points to a continuance of road maintenance and construction as merely part of the routine administrative accomplishments of the year. Irrigation, better agricultural methods and crop diversification receive governmental support and encouragement. Some rather large-scale undertakings, which will provide both increased employment and ultimate revenue as they succeed, are well under way. Sisal is becoming an important crop, the project stimulated, financed and managed by Americans; already it is in the productive stage.

During the year Haiti has made her bid as a banana producer. An exclusive contract has been entered into between the government and a fruit company of New Orleans for the exploitation of the banana industry. Several thousand stems of bananas are now being shipped weekly.

Nine Million to Be Used to Repay Loan

U. S. Advisers to Be Sent Home 9 Years Ahead of Schedule.

ROOSEVELT PAVED WAY TO NEW DEAL

Americans Doubtful About Borrowing.

(Exclusively to the AFRO)

WASHINGTON—Friends of Haiti here gasped, this week, at the announcement that Haiti has secured a $33,000,000 loan (500,000,000 French francs) from French financiers, the largest loan in Haitian history.

Copies of Le Moniteur, official Haitian organ, published in Port au Prince, declare that nearly half the entire loan, or $15,500,000, is to be provided before November 30. The balance of some seventeen and one-half million dollars is to be made available to Haiti in four yearly installments of $4,400,000.

U.S. to Be Repaid

Out of the first fifteen millions of the loan, which Haiti gets in the next eight weeks, it proposes to return the 1922 U.S. loan of which about $9,500,000 is still due. The balance will be used, it is said, for public works.

Details of the rate of interest and amount of annual Haitian payments on the principal were not given.

To Oust U.S. Collector

By paying her debt to the United States Haiti will, with the personal approval of President Roosevelt, get rid of an unwelcome U.S. collector of taxes and customs, and thus regain control of her own affairs lost in 1915. The French loan means that this official will thus be forced out nine years ahead of the scheduled time.

Race Problem - 1935

West Indies.

Virgin Islands.

VIRGIN ISLES TORN BY INTENSE FEUD

Backers and Foes of Pearson Wage Conflict With Almost Unbelievable Bitterness.

BOTH SIDES FAVOR INQUIRY

3-18-35

Negroes Hold the Governor's Voodoo Powers Must Be Overcome by Washington.

By HANSON BALDWIN

Special Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ST. THOMAS, V. I., March 17.—An immediate Congressional investigation of the administration of the Virgin Islands, the experimental laboratory for many of the New Deal theories, would be almost unanimously welcomed here.

Governor Paul M. Pearson, the Hoover appointee whose administration of the islands for the last four years has been described by opponents as inefficient, tyrannical and corrupt, reported that he would welcome such an investigation as a vindication of his régime.

Opposition leaders, who in turn have been branded by the administration forces as selfish and as "irresponsible agitators," declare that such an investigation would prove their numerous charges and would lift the lid from what is termed a "mess."

The islands' many Negroes, who form 90 per cent of the population, believe a Congressional investigation or intervention by President Roosevelt to be their only "hope," as they express it, of presenting their side of the case to the United States.

Fear Voodoo Powers.

The natives, simple, quiet and indolent people who inherit numerous customs and superstitions of an ancient past, naïvely believe that Governor Pearson's "obeah" or voodoo powers are supreme in the islands and that unless a stronger "obeah" is manufactured in Washington the Governor will remain in absolute authority.

Whether or not the charges of the vociferous and powerful opposition are true—undoubtedly many are petty or without foundation, and virtually all are denied by Mr. Pearson—it seems that a Congressional investigation is the only way to clear up the muddled situation here.

Until the lid is lifted and the heat of the passion engendered by events of recent years has been allowed to dissipate, it is clear that the islands, small but lovely outposts of Americanism, will never be able to make material progress toward the economic rehabilitation that has been so much discussed since the advent of the New Deal. That fact and the necessity for a thoroughgoing investigation of some sort are apparently the only things on which all parties here profess to be agreed.

Bitterness, rancour, passion and prejudice to an almost unbelievable degree are rampant in the islands. Against a setting of white beaches, blue sea and brilliant subtropical vegetation there is being played a drama of political and personal hatred.

Reputations Are Not Spared.

The charges and vituperations that are hurled, seemingly indiscriminately, against men in and out of public office are worthy of the best efforts of Tammany mudslingers. Personalities, characters and reputations are not spared and what would be libel in the United States if untrue is not only whispered from the housetops but shouted from the market place and printed in some of the violent little newspapers.

The islands' inhabitants are completely and hopelessly divided, though in what proportion your correspondent is not yet ready to report. Those who hold government jobs and a small group of wealthy mulattoes and whites, most of them members of colonial councils, uphold Governor Pearson's administration and praise his actions as sincere, idealistic and disinterested. Another group of whites, led by District Judge T. Webber Wilson, who is now absent on vacation, and Charles Gibson and Eli Baer, government attorneys, dismissed since the advent of the Pearson régime, are unalterably opposed to Governor Pearson and, aided by Morris Davis, a local Demosthenes, apparently have the support of the largest share of the native population.

The churches here, Catholic, Anglican and Moravian, have not escaped the universal contagion, so that both racial and religious prejudice fan the flames of political hatred.

It is impossible to be in the islands for more than a day without discovering the intensity of the rancour and hatred that exists between the two factions. There is no cessation of the verbal open and underground warfare. There are few if any impartial observers.

Government Program Hit.

There is little doubt that the government program of rehabilitation has suffered materially because of the intense political opposition, not primarily to the program but to the hard-working Governor and his aides.

Whatever the cause of the opposition, and there can be no doubt of its strength, the situation has now reached a point where a large part of the energy, perhaps the major part, of the members of both factions is devoted to political warfare. This is apparently particularly true of the opposition, many members of which, being "outs," have little to do other than oppose Mr. Pearson, a man who they are firmly convinced is not capable of being Governor of the islands, but it is true also, though perhaps to a lesser degree, of the administration.

Because of the attacks upon him, Governor Pearson has been forced to spend more time defending the administration daily. At Government House, on a hill high above the beautiful harbor of St. Thomas, several clerks are kept busy blue-penciling favorable stories in pro-administration newspapers and preparing copies of these papers for mailing to the United States.

In the town itself, in the market place with its yams, papayas, charcoal and bananas, in the backroom of Paiewonsky's drug store, the meeting place of the opposition, in the hotels and in residences men and women spend much of their time in talk or work against the Pearson regime. The fever is a well-nigh universal contagion.

Because of the bitterness of the feud the pleasant and peaceful social life of St. Thomas has been largely disrupted. Men have been expelled from the Tennis Club, allegedly because of their political views, and others have lost their jobs. There have been minor riots, personal assaults and open denunciations of all and sundry. Fear, suspicion and hatred are real here, despite the surface calm and apparently somnolent quiet of this one-time pirate rendezvous.

Until strangers are known and identified, the men are guarded in their statements or do not talk. There is an efficient underground espionage system, say residents, both government and anti-government, and if one is discreet one does not talk too much.

Whether or not this is true, it is certain that many of the islanders believe it is true, so it is easily understandable what effect such a belief has on 22,000 credulous, semi-primitive people cooped up on islands totaling only 140 square miles.

It is probably because there is a universal vague desire to end the strain, tension, fear and passion of the last two years that almost every one apparently desires a Congressional investigation. If one is voted it should do much to clear up the present muddled situation, residents believe. If not, the present tension may be heightened, or though it is unlikely, the opposition may bog down or resign itself to the supreme authority of Governor Pearson's mighty "obeah."

HEARINGS DELAYED ON VIRGIN ISLANDS

Presentation of Evidence Will Await Full Committee's Arrival in October.

3-15-35

PEOPLE ARE DISAPPOINTED

Many Waiting to Testify—More Time Declared Needed for Gathering of Evidence.

Special Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ST. THOMAS, V. I., May 14.—Governor Paul Pearson and his supporters received a jolt today in the postponement until October of further hearings in the Senatorial investigation of the island administration. The reason given was lack of time for adequate presentation of the mass of evidence gathered to the subcommittee headed by Senator Robert R. Reynolds of North Carolina.

"I am disappointed," said Governor Pearson, "that a thorough investigation into the administration of the Virgin Islands is not to be completed immediately; yet I welcome the statement of Senator Reynolds that, with the extension of time, the committee will be able to make a complete investigation.

Would Broaden Inquiry.

"I trust that the inquiry will be extended to include those factors of tradition, history and social conditions which inhere in the situation. Such an investigation would have enormous constructive value. It would be particularly valuable that Congress have a statement of problems and conditions in the Virgin Islands, as well as that they have a report on the facts of the present administration.

"I sincerely hope that, when the full committee comes to us in the Fall, they will carry through a complete study of what the administration has done and al a constructive study of what conditions here require Congressional action. With such a complete report by the Senators, the entire Congress can plan wisely to cooperate with the Department of the Interior for a long-time program for the deserving people of the Virgin Islands."

The opposition to the Governor has been jarred into silence. Conservative groups fear the postponement of the hearings will cause unnecessary delay in public works activities here.

Senator Reynolds convened a hearing this morning at 10 o'clock. Many witnesses were present to testify. Through Isidor Goldstrom and Edward Colgan, counsel for the committee, it was announced that the hearings would be adjourned until Fall on instructions from Senator Millard Tydings of Maryland, chairman of the full inquiry committee.

Full Committee to Visit Islands.

Senator Reynolds assured the crowd that packed the hearing chamber that the entire committee would come to the islands soon after the adjournment of the present Congress. The people were assured that, while the subcommittee would have to leave the islands May 29, the auditors and investigators would remain to continue the work of preparing data for presentation to the counsel. The counsel, it was said, would assemble this material in advance of the full committee's arrival.

Paul Yates, former aide to the Governor but now one of his leading opponents, declared: "I am gratified at the action of the Senate committee on the recommendation of Senator Reynolds, postponing public hearings until the adjournment of Congress.

"The shocking conditions prevailing in the Virgin Islands have equally shocking ramifications in the Interior Department. This investigation involves far more than the fate of the Pearson administration. The evidence, when finally assembled, will startle the nation.

Senator Reynolds declared that after consultation with the investigators, counsel for the committee told me that it would be absolutely impossible for them to prepare evidence for presentation to the subcommittee within the limited time that will be accorded them. After having given the matter thorough consideration, I agree that it would be best to go into this matter not piecemeal but thoroughly from beginning to end, because the facts are of such vital importance to everybody concerned with the issues."

Invest Half Million To Make One Of Virgin Islands An American Playground Like Paradise. Rumor

New York Interests Plan to Erect Palatial Hotels Along Picturesque Ten-Mile Ocean Front—Would Be Similar to Coney Island.

WASHINGTON, May 16—Advices received here from the Virgin Islands state that American capitalists have decided to invest a preliminary sum of $500,000 toward turning the island of St. Croix into a new American playground.

New York interests are said to have decided to erect modern hotels along a 10-mile ocean front near the town of Frederikssted. The hotels will be linked by a highway 75 feet wide and lined with cocoanut palm trees. Tennis courts, fresh water swimming pools, golf courses and polo fields will be built along this boulevard. Amusement facilities similar to those operated at Coney Island will also be installed.

The development plan calls for the clearing of bridle paths through the mountains. These are expected to be the most extensive ever laid out in a tropical country.

The assurance of funds with which to build the hotels and play centers on the island of St. Croix is said to have been the result of conferences held by Governor Paul M. Pearson with representatives of leading New York financiers and with Arnold Golden, president of the St. Croix Chamber of Commerce and chairman of the Colonial Council of that island.

The advices state that the St. Croix Chamber of Commerce, after months of hard work, finally launched last Tuesday tre Virgin Islands Development Company to handle the development, the first of its kind in the history of the islands.

Governor Pearson is quoted as saying that "for more than two years I have employed every effort to induce American capitalists to tackle the Virgin Islands. I knew the day was not far off, and I have promised my wholehearted support and co-operation in pushing these plans, which must redound to the credit of the islands."

The Governor is said to have indicated that his administration's extensive rehabilitation plans for St. Croix, particularly for building roads and putting in a new water system, would harmonize with the financiers' plans to make St. Croix a resort island.

Natives Raided Dungheap to Get Food to Eat

Investigators Told Relief Provisions Sent to Islands Were Destroyed.

MERCHANT SERVED AS FOOD COMMISSIONER

NRA Flour Stored Next Door to Leading Bakery.

ST. THOMAS, V.I.—Stories of how they went to the municipal dungheap and recovered meat that was thrown away by the Welfare Division were told by natives in an all-day hearing as the preliminary probe of the Virgin Islands started this week.

Attorneys Colgan and Goldstrom quizzed more than fifty witnesses who testified that they were so starved that they were glad to rake the dump for food, and were only prevented from a wholesale raid by the authorities pouring acid on the meat.

Meat Burned

A number of charges grew out of the meat-burning incident. Some charged that the meat, sent from the States for relief of suffering, was burned to compel the poor to buy from the stores which were suffering because free food was being distributed to the poor.

Others charged that the meat was spoiled by lack of proper refrigeration, and although the food was known to be in the process of decay, those who pleaded for aid were refused until it became necessary to carry the meat off by the truck-load and burn it.

Drank Only Tea

While this was being done, many witnesses testified they were eating only a native food of pressed leaves in water which formed a tea.

A similar fate happened to relief flour which was also kept in the warehouses unprotected until it became too mouldy for use. Some of the natives testified they did not taste meat for months.

The climax in the testimony came when two dump-keepers, two aged people, approximately seventy odd years of age, dressed in clothes made from gunny sacks, were rounded up by investigators and testified that they were present when the meat was dumped. They declared that the meat was good.

Food Commissioner

While no charges of criminal participation have been brought, Governor Pearson is being bitterly criticized for his appointment of Herbert Lockhart as food commissioner. The criticism centers around the fact that Mr. Lockhart is the city's leading merchant. It is also said he was permitted to store the relief flour in his warehouse adjoining his bakery which supplies the town with bread.

In a statement, Mr. Lockhart declared that he merely loaned the warehouse to the government free of rent in an effort to save the relief group paying rent so that they would have more to distribute to the poor.

TRUTH ABOUT VIRGIN ISLANDS.

Upon his return from a month's visit to the Virgin Islands, Joseph M. Price, chairman of the trustees of the City Club and for many years active in local fusion movements, gave out an interview praising the administration of Governor Pearson and attributing much of the unrest among the natives to the machinations of a "Harlem policy racketeer." The reasons assigned by Mr. Price for the continued agitation on the islands are different from those given by Governor Pearson and official investigators at Washington.

Mr. Price is quoted as saying that all the white persons he had met in the Virgin Islands were supporters of the Pearson administration, but admitted that the Negroes appeared to be overwhelmingly against him, the latter having been led to believe the governor is against "the poor man."

Governor Pearson has attributed much of the opposition against him to landed owners of the islands who frown on the comprehensive rehabilation program which includes a plan to make it possible for natives to own their own homes and earn a decent living. Disfranchisement of the masses has been made possible in the past by laws decreeing one must own so much property or enjoy a minimum income annually before eligible to vote. This arrangement has given the ballot to a few who have legislated in the main to benefit themselves and perpetuate complete domination of the classes over the masses. Some of the wealthy, autocratic Virgin Islanders are colored, but for the most part they are white.

It is this small group, working in concert with white politicians on the islands, who have been Governor Pearson's severest foe who want no radical changes in the conduct of government which in the past has promoted and protected their selfish interests. It is equally true that politics is behind most of the anti-Pearson agitation, the Governorship being looked upon by some Democrats as too juicy a political morsel for a Hoover appointee, regardless of the splendid work he is doing.

In an article on conditions in the Virgin Islands, published in The New York Times, Hanson Baldwin refers to the natives as "22,000 credulous semi-primitive people." Of the 22,000 there are educated men and women of culture. It is true many illiterates can be found, but they are not semi-civilized. In fact, they are far more civilized than many thousands of poor whites in the South, who would more justly rate the characterization.

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Drank Only Tea

While this was being done, many witnesses testified they were eating only a native food of pressed leaves in water which formed a tea.

A similar fate happened to relief flour which was also kept in the warehouses unprotected until it became too mouldy for use. Some of the natives testified they did not taste meat for months.

The climax in the testimony came when two dump-keepers, two aged people, approximately seventy odd years of age, dressed in clothes made from gunny sacks, were rounded up by investigators and testified that they were present when the meat was dumped. They declared that the meat was good.

Food Commissioner

While no charges of criminal participation have been brought, Governor Pearson is being bitterly criticized for his appointment of Herbert Lockhart as food commissioner. The criticism centers around the fact that Mr. Lockhart is the city's leading merchant. It is also said he was permitted to store the relief flour in his warehouse adjoining his bakery which supplies the town with bread.

In a statement, Mr. Lockhart declared that he merely loaned the warehouse to the government free of rent in an effort to save the relief group paying rent so that they would have more to distribute to the poor.

TRUTH ABOUT VIRGIN ISLANDS.

Upon his return from a month's visit to the Virgin Islands, Joseph M. Price, chairman of the trustees of the City Club and for many years active in local fusion movements, gave out an interview praising the administration of Governor Pearson and attributing much of the unrest among the natives to the machinations of a "Harlem policy racketeer." The reasons assigned by Mr. Price for the continued agitation on the islands are different from those given by Governor Pearson and official investigators at Washington.

Mr. Price is quoted as saying that all the white persons he had met in the Virgin Islands were supporters of the Pearson administration, but admitted that the Negroes appeared to be overwhelmingly against him, the latter having been led to believe the governor is against "the poor man."

Governor Pearson has attributed much of the opposition against him to landed owners of the islands who frown on the comprehensive rehabilation program which includes a plan to make it possible for natives to own their own homes and earn a decent living. Disfranchisement of the masses has been made possible in the past by laws decreeing one must own so much property or enjoy a minimum income annually before eligible to vote. This arrangement has given the ballot to a few who have legislated in the main to benefit themselves and perpetuate complete domination of the classes over the masses. Some of the wealthy, autocratic Virgin Islanders are colored, but for the most part they are white.

It is this small group, working in concert with white politicians on the islands, who have been Governor Pearson's severest foe, who want no radical changes in the conduct of government which in the past has promoted and protected their selfish interests. It is equally true that politics is behind most of the anti-Pearson agitation, the Governorship being looked upon by some Democrats as too juicy a political morsel for a Hoover appointee, regardless of the splendid work he is doing.

In an article on conditions in the Virgin Islands, published in The New York Times, Hanson Baldwin refers to the natives as "22,000 credulous semi-primitive people." Of the 22,000 there are educated men and women of culture. It is true many illiterates can be found, but they are not semi-civilized. In fact, they are far more civilized than many thousands of poor whites in the South, who would more justly rate the characterization.

Race Problem - 1935

West Indies.

Virgin Islands.

CHARLESTON, S. C.
POST

OCT 3

Dropping the Color Line

The governor of the Virgin Islands, Lawrence W. Cramer, is a New Deal appointee. He was elevated to the post after the heated controversy centering about his immediate predecessor.

A dispatch from St. Thomas to The Christian Science Monitor says that Mr Cramer has "altered a precedent under American administration of the islands by inviting leading citizens and their wives to a dance at Government House. Colored people comprise 90 per cent of the island's population.

"It is said that Mr. Cramer is showing much interest in the social problems of the islands and in order to build up a more solid structure will give the leading citizens an opportunity to attend social functions at Government House, in the hope of encouraging natives to recognize merit among themselves regardless of color."

The governor of the Virgin Islands would not drop the color line if his policy did not meet with the sanction of the White House. The New Deal brought him recognition and he would think twice before doing anything which might embarrass his chief. In view of the New Deal's attitude in some American states relative to the negro question, there is no reason to be surprised at the radical change of policy in the Virgin Islands.

NAPPING REPORTERS FAIL TO HEAR VIRGIN ISLANDS SPEECH OF CONGRESSMAN MITCHELL

LAUDS PRESIDENT AND "NEW DEAL" AT RECEPTION AT GOVERNMENT HOUSE

Nabs Monster Barricuda While Fishing

By ADOLPH GEREAU

ST. THOMAS, V. I., Nov. 14.—(ANP)—Congressman Arthur W. Mitchell of Illinois visiting here, was guest at a reception given in his honor at Government House by Governor Cramer last week during which he made a speech which won for him the admiration of the inhabitants of the island. But the speech was unexpected and newspapermen, much to their chagrin, were caught napping.

No one took down what the representative said, and later when he was asked for a resume he coolly replied by asking, "Well what did I say?" Mitchell said his wife and various colleagues in congress had warned him against making speeches, and when he found no one had recorded his remarks he breathed a "Thank God!"

"No embarrassments will come to me as a result of what I said," he told reporters.

However, Mitchell did laud President Roosevelt and the New Deal before the officers of the marine corps, government officials, legislators, business men and prominent citizens attending the reception. He told the islanders to line up behind the present administration in Washington. Mitchell told his listeners the Democratic party had a lot to offer the islands and asked the islanders not to fail to make an effort to help themselves as then the nation would come forward also helping.

The Illinois Democrat is devoting much time to fishing and so far has been quite successful in his catches. The prize is a monster barricuda which he is having prepared to take back with him for exhibition in the United States.

Away from the various entertainments in his honor, the congressman is going around seeing the citizens on their daily routines and speaking with them to get a true picture of their condition. Above all, he is encouraging islanders to take an interest in what they want and reveal their desires to him, so he may take back a list of their needs to the other members of congress.

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West Indies.

Virgin Islands.

Virgin Islanders Tell Roosevelt They Prefer Death to Cramer Rule

Colonial Council Asks Return of Navy to Administration of Appointee

PROTEST MEETING FLAYS APPOINTMENT

Thought They Were Getting Rid of Cramer When Pearson Left

Special to The Tribune

ST. THOMAS, V. I. — Virgin Islanders advised President Roosevelt and Congress this week that the islands preferred the rule of the navy to that of Lawrence Cramer, newly appointed governor.

The following radio message was sent to the President:

"The Colonial Council for St. Thomas and St. John, after 18 years experience, gratefully remembering the peacefulness and security under the efficient and benevolent Naval Administration, reiterates its expressed opinion that the return of the Navy is the only solution of the Island's problems. The Colonial Council strongly recommends that any plan conducive to the welfare of the community should include the active participation of the Navy of the United States."

Message Combatted

Ten members were present at the meeting: Vice Chairman Kuntz, Secretary Benito Smith, Members Lindo, Mylner, Lockhart, Holst, Corneiro, Bornn, Reynolds and Creque. All except Bornn voted for the Message.

The Council refused to make any expression regarding the appointment of Lawrence Cramer.

The Acting Governor and Commissioner of Finance attended the meeting, and together with Members Bornn combatted vigorously the sending of the message.

Prefer Death

A protest meeting against the appointment of Cramer was held Sunday night. A. C. Pedro, a political leader, flayed former Governor Paul Pearson who was ousted last week. He pointed out that the islanders were more anxious to get rid of Cramer than Pearson. He stated that the people thought that when Pearson was rid of his entire staff including Lieut. Governor Cramer would go. The audience shouted time and again, "Death is better than Cramer," and "He wants to come back to spite us."

The audience instructed the committee in charge of the meeting to send telegrams of protests to President Roosevelt and Congress against the appointment of Cramer.

Drastic Changes in Virgin Isles Govt. Revealed

Afro-American 9-7-35

Office of Lieutenant Governor, Education Commissioner Abolished.

Baltimore, Md.

STOP U.S. FUNDS FOR HEALTH OFFICIALS

Governor Cramer Expected to Arrive This Week.

WASHINGTON—A number of changes in the governmental set up of the Virgin Islands will be put into immediate effect, the AFRO learned this week.

The office of lieutenant-governor, formerly held by Governor Lawrence C. Cramer, has been abolished. In place of this office a governor's secretary will be appointed. A similar arrangement was in force under the Danish system.

Two Supervisors Now

The office of commissioner of education has also been discontinued. In the future, two supervisors of education at a decreased salary, will take charge of the schools in St. Thomas and St. Croix, respectively.

Due to the criticisms on expenditures, the Federal funds will no longer be used to pay the salaries of health officers, this expense to be transferred to the shoulders of the municipal governments, and all sums for purely relief administration will be segregated from those used for permanent government projects.

All persons appointed on relief projects will hereafter have the status of temporary employees only, and their services will be subject to discontinuance at any time it is felt that the emergency is over.

President Signs Order

President Roosevelt this week signed an order transfering all the assets and records of the Virgin Islands Subsistence Homesteads Authority and the Islands Resettlement Administration to the temporary government of the islands, in keeping with this program.

Governor Cramer, whose nomination to succeed former Governor Paul M. Pearson was recently ratified by the Senate, will fly to Puerto Rico, this week. From there, the governor will proceed to St. Thomas aboard the U.S.S. Trenton, which will fire the governor's salute of nineteen guns on his arrival at St. Thomas. At the end of the week, Governor Cramer will go to St. Croix, where the same ceremony will be repeated.

Latest advices from the Virgin Islands state that the groups opposing the new governor have agreed to suspend hostilities, and will give him their co-operation in trying out the new program.

Spartanburg, S. C. Journal
August 22, 1935

Sound Reasoning

The Massachusetts legislature recently passed resolutions condemning the Hitler machine in Germany for its attacks on the lives and liberties of Jews in that country. This provoked a German newspaper a Hitlerite organ, to reply: "Germany does not lynch members of other races for despoiling German women * * * * We do not hang suspects from the nearest tree without a trial. All have their day in court here." Such a reply calls forth an answer from a negro man named William Pickens of New York City, which the German paper, Herr Hitler and all of his following should read. In his communication in the Springfield Republican Pickens says:

It is all right for Hitlerites to call attention to America's treatment of negroes, but that does not justify Germany's treatement of Jews. And we notice that Germany never got interested in the treatment meted out to American negroes until the accusing finger was pointed at her in the case of anti-Jew atrocities. If it justified one sin simply to point to another, there would be no progress in morals or in civilization. We are all guilty, or have been, or will be.

Let the American negro bear in mind that every attack being made on the Jew in Germany would be made on negroes if negroes were in the shoes of those Jews. We have a conviction that Hitlerites would be worse to negroes. In every attack on the Jew, the Nazi includes the negro. The negro is saved only by being scarce in Germany.

A Report on the Virgin Islands

By GERALDO GUIRTY

A UNITED FRONT! Such is the objective o progressive Virgin Island leaders. The expediency of concerted action to promote and establish the economic well-being of the Virgin Island people, both in the islands and in the mother country, brought into being the Virgin Islands Federation—through the initiative of Miss Clarita Burnet, a native crusader and educator. The lady returned from the Islands about a month ago, and, on Sept. 28 at St. Mark's Hall, addressed approximately 300 of her compatriots, who listened to her report on conditions which she had studied there.

Christian Science Monitor

The chairman of the occasion, Ludvig Harrigan, reviewed the aims and purposes of the federation. He emphasized that the federation is not a new organization, but the medium in the form of a committee, and through which the members, who are officers of the seven Virgin Island Organizations—namely: The American West Indian Benevolent Society, the Virgin Islands Society, and the Ladies' Aid—will work for the solidarity of all. 10-12-35

Before the school teacher took the stand she was preceded by Miss Newman, principal of the public school where Miss Burnet teaches; and Arthur Francis, a Virgin Islander, who has been active in Harlem's politics for the last fifteen years. He served the Appomattox Republican Club as a secretary. Miss New-

man, in a brief comment, supported the keynote of the meeting.

The politician discussed the political aspect of the Virgin Islands question. He showed, as he saw it, how politics can enhance the civic and material life of the people. The reason why he failed to affiliate himself with any one of the organizations was, he explained further, "that while they were committed to the Virgin Islands' cause, they were without a central authority, and their combined membership did not constitute political strength to warrant serious consideration.

A silent dramatization, bespeaking the message of assistance which Miss Burnet brought from the home brethren, introduced her report. A group of children held signs—some of which said:

"Remember Your Home.
Fight For Your Home.
All For One, One For All."

• • •

THE school teacher then proceeded to narrate the story of her trip. St. Thomas, she said, continues to dote on the harbor—as if that can bring back the so-called era of plenty. It is with a degree of reluctance that St. Thomians are coming to realize they must go back to the soil. In St. Croix, the Crucians are making strides in the homesteads and agriculture. This is not surprising. For, unlike the St. Thomian, who is harbor-minded, the Crucians are deep-rooted in the earth. The Puerto Ricans are not the menace they have been pictured to be. Where natives overlooked or ignored economic possibilities, the newcomers set to work, and have shown themselves indispensable to the Virgin Island Renaissance.

As an educator, Miss Burnet made a plea for the schools. Due to a lack of funds, their doors may be closed in December. The local legislators are little concerned about the impending crisis, and the merchants of Main street do not think that education is important. This attitude is nothing else but their contempt for the barefoot boy who is rising.

She lamented the absence of a good militant labor organization. Laborers working on the waterfront, in sea-water up to their necks, were getting ninety-six cents per day. That wage, Mr. Boreham, the Commissioner of Public Works, defended as good enough. And he didn't see why she had to be so interested in worthless St. Thomians. Agitation brought about an increase; only after Mr. Boreham encountered a threat on his life. He had to have the protection of bodyguard for several weeks. Giving vent to her feelings, Miss Burnet indicted him as a tyrant, and vowed that he must go.

Commissioner Alonzo Moron, for Public Welfare, was another official who, indirectly, was rebuked by the crusader. The Commissioner will be asked to advise his wife to apologize for the article on native morals which appeared under her name in the Afro-American during the past summer.

The beneficiaries of the Virgins' "status quo" are continually at work to prevent the proposed reforms for the Islands. Lobbyists were sent to Washington to block the Tydings Land Tax Bill. In expressing her views about a church being a land-owner, and that that church is helping to hold the club of oppression over the people, she was seen not as the authorized representative of Black Manhattan's Virgin Islanders, but as a Communist revolutionary, talking the strange Marxian lingo.

• • •

STRANGERS who go to the Islands deplore the pronounced selfishness of those who are in a position to promote the general welfare. Dr Clayborn, who heads the Virgin Islands Products Company, was advised by the doubting Thomases that it was useless to attempt the preserving of native fruits. The gentleman just went ahead, and today he and his two sons are doing well.

Mr. Paiewonsky, the leading manufacturer of bay rum, is the only business man who would consider business ventures. He wanted to replace the crippled drydock which he had bought, and which used to be a source of revenue and employment for St. Thomas, with a new one. But the Main Street die-hards could not see the wisdom of replacing the floating shipyard on public subscription. It had to be a closed affair.

And so Miss Burnet concluded: "The future of the islands must be determined by the people themselves. Denmark crucified the islands upon a Cross of Gold. The Colonial Law, which was designed in Copenhagen and still in force, is nothing else but an instrument of class domination. It is unfair to blame America wholly for the economic and social problems. On the contrary, the nation has meant more to us for the short space of time that she has been in the possession of the Islands than Denmark did in the two and a half centuries of ownership. This fact is to be seen in educational opportunities and public improvements.

Mrs. Regmor Nero, a resident of St. Thomas, and the wife of Father Nero of the Anglican Episcopal Church, sat on the platform. The lady did not speak on account of a cold.

Mr. Ashley L. Totten, president of the Virgin Islands' Civic & Industrial Assn., and general secretary-treasurer of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, summarized the salient issues of the meeting. He commended the United Front. The Virgin Island people, he said, "must provide themselves with organization and leadership that will command the respect of Washington, and the Harlem community of which they are integral part."

APPOINT WHITE MAN TO VIRGIN ISLAND JUDGESHIP

Attorney Gen'l Cumings Turns Deaf Ear To Race Aspirants

10-25-35

CHICAGO, (ANP.)-Keen disappointment was expressed by officers of the National Bar Association here wednesday when they received information that a white lawyer, Albert Levitt, had received the appointment to the judgeship of the United States District Court of the Virgin Islands. It had been confidently expected that the post would go to a colored man.

In February, 1934, when word was quietly passed around that a colored lawyer would be considered for the post, it was at the request of Attorney General Cummings that a special committee of the National Bar Association submitted a memorandum on its choice for the judgeship and nominated C. Francis Stradford, of the Chicago Bar. Following that recommendation. Mr. Stafford received the endorsements of some of the most outstanding individuals and organizations in this country, among them being Justice Stone of the U, S. District Supreme court, Judge William H. Holly of the United States District Court, A. Phillip Randolph, President of the brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, John Haynes Holmes, nationally known minister, and the Honorable James Hamilton Lewis, senior senator of Illinois. The press was unanimous in its support of the bar association program and felt that the time had come for the appointment of an upstanding, well trained and experienced colored lawyer to the United States District Court bench. Moreover Secretary Ickes and the recently appointed Governor Cramer were reported favorable to a colored man holding the job.

"That a white lawyer, not widely known and not as well fit by training, character, experience and ability as Mr. Stradford, should be appointed to preside over the District Court of the Virgin Islands, whose population is almost 98 per cent colored, is indeed unfortunate," said President George W Laurence Friday. "It would seem that this is not a New Deal but a very old one which refuses to accord the proper recognition to Negroes."

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Walter White Denounces Roosevelt; Quits Virgin Islands Advisory Group

Walter White, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, definitely broke with the President this week when he resigned from the Virgin Islands Council in protest over Mr. Roosevelt's silence during the anti-lynching filibuster.

In his letter to the President, Mr. White expressed disappointment "that you as President did not see your way clear to make a public pronouncement by means of a message to the Senate or otherwise, and by giving your open endorsement the swift and your condemnation of the shameless filibuster led by a wilful group of obstructionists who under the antiquated rules of the Senate were able to thwart the desire of three times their number of senators to vote for the bill and of many millions of Americans North and South, and of all races and creeds who insisted upon passage of a bill to end lynching

"It is my belief that the utterless shameless filibuster could not have withstood the pressure of public opinion had you spoken out against it. The Southern press itself took the lead in condemning the crass and unethical means taken by the filibusters to kill the measure

"I feel, therefore, that in justice to the cause I serve I cannot continue to remain even a small part of your official family I regret the necessity of taking this action, but I do not see that I can follow any other course with honor to the cause I serve and to myself."

Mr. White was named a member of the Advisory Committee of he Virgin Islands Council by President Roosevelt in February 1934. The other members named were Secretary of the Interior Ickes, Secretary of Agriculture Wallace, Alfred K. Stern of Chicago, George Foster Peabody of Saratoga Springs, Dr. Mordecai Johnson of Howard University and Charles W Taussig of New York City.

CRAMER A LIBERAL, WAS AN EDUCATOR

The New York Times

Virgin Islands Governor Is Expected to Have Support of Working Class.

New York.

CATHOLICS OPPOSE HIM

7-24-35

After War Service, in Which He Was Wounded, He Was an Instructor at Columbia.

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, July 23.—Lawrence W. Cramer, new Governor of the Virgin Islands, was appointed lieutenant governor of St. Croix four years ago at the request of Paul N. Pearson, whom he is replacing.

Before going to the islands he was an instructor in the government department at Columbia University. Previously he had spent two years in the army during the World War and was wounded in action. He is the author of a book, "The Diplomatic Background of the World War."

He was born in New Orleans on Dec. 26, 1897, the son of Mr. and Mrs. J. C. Cramer. He went at an early age to Milwaukee where his family resided.

He was graduated from the University of Wisconsin in 1923 and did graduate work at Columbia University, obtaining his master's degree in 1926. He is a member of the Chi Psi fraternity and of the American Legion.

Mr. Cramer is now in Washington with his wife, the former Aline Smith of Milwaukee, under subpoena to appear before the Senate Investigating Committee. He plans to return to the islands shortly.

Mr. Cramer was in Washington in January, 1933, for a joint meeting of the House and Senate committee to consider the Bingham Bill to set up a permanent government for the Virgin Islands. Representative Underhill of Massachusetts proposed that independence be granted promptly. Replying, Mr. Cramer declared:

"Their (the islands') trade relations always have been with the United States and I don't think there is any local feeling for independence."

The new Governor of the islands is an outspoken liberal. He has always been forceful and definite in his ideas and their application. St. Croix, where the development projects of the quasi-governmental Virgin Islands Company are centred, has borne the brunt of the islands' labor disturbances, and Mr. Cramer has figured in their settlement.

Early this year he agreed with striking agricultural workers that they deserved a higher wage. Opposed on slightly different grounds by Governor Pearson and Boyd Brown, president of the company and formerly secretary to the Governor, he remained firm and the workers won their increase.

Although he is expected to have the support of agricultural and labor groups, the new Governor will undoubtedly face opposition. Catholics, with whom he has differed on a variety of sociological and philosophical questions, are likely to continue to oppose him. Although their dislike of Mr. Cramer once extended far enough to make several of them refuse to attend a celebration at which he was scheduled to speak, their respect for his forcefulness and capability never diminished.



TO RULE VIRGIN ISLES. Lawrence W. Cramer.

Virgin Islands Native Forgotten Man, as Probe Stretches into Fourth Month

From The American Philadelphia 7-27-35

By RALPH MATTHEWS

WASHINGTON, D.C. — After nearly four months of investigation, the solution to the Virgin Islands situation, which has been under surveillance both here and in the islands themselves, is still very remote.

What might prove the panacea for the ills of government in the Caribbean was advanced here only Monday, where the Senate committee is conducting its hearings, when Paul Yates, the man who brought the whole situation to a climax, was asked what he thought would solve the problems.

Mr. Yates, Governor Pearson's former assistant, told how he would reorganize the islands' administration if he had the power to do so.

He advocated the drafting of a new organic act, merging the existing double system of colonial Government into one unit, with universal suffrage and revision of the tax system.

He replied to a question by Senator Tydings that prohibition had created immeasurable poverty by destroying the rum business that flourished in the islands under Danish rule.

He pointed out that Tortola, a British ruled island nearby, was governed with only a sixth of the cost to the mainland that America's administration of the Virgin Islands costs. This was due, he said, to the British wisdom in the management of colonies. England does not use the island as a dumping ground for political plum seekers.

Top Heavy

The Virgin Islands, he declared, are overloaded with white job holders costing the United States thousands of dollars. The Government, he said, was top heavy, compared with Tortola where one man does most of the administrating, aided by natives. This is the system that would save the Virgin Islands, he contended.

This writer has pointed out in these columns the evils existing in the islands under the present administration.

In doing so, I tried hard to confine myself to facts as they actually existed. The reason for their existence and the possible correction was left to better minds than mine. The Virgin Islands situation offered so many ramifications, so many contradictions, so many diversified forces, political, economic, and social, at work, both between the races and within the race itself, that I long since came to the conclusion that no solution would satisfy everybody concerned. What would be one group's medicine would certainly be poison to another.

White Folks' Fight

This fact is obvious. The controversy raging in Washington over the control of the islands is plainly a white folks' fight. If, in the mad scramble, the natives benefit at all, it will certainly be a case of good luck and due to no good management of their own. The native is the forgotten man.

The suggestion of Mr. Yates that natives be given a new organic act, a hand in the running of their own affairs, and more jobs in the administration is a light in dark places and a suggestion worthy of the man.

If anything has made a profound impression on me throughout the entire investigation, it is the unselfish sincerity of this man Yates in the position he has taken. At the risk of his economic security, and surely the sacrificing of his health, he has fought steadfastly to bring the plight of the natives out into the open. While no sane and liberal person would believe that Governor Pearson is wholly responsible for the deplorable state of affairs, the fact remains that these conditions do exist, and must be corrected. The mere naming of another governor will not accomplish this result if he is left to operate the same machinery of government.

The solution is made all the more elusive because no single form of government will be satisfactory to both the island of St Thomas and the island of St. Croix. Last June, I pointed out that while St. Thomas clamored for the restoration of the Navy, St. Croix was bitterly opposed, because a civil government serves its needs best.

Government Against Them

These contentions are borne out to some extent by Raymond Gram Swing, writing in the current issue of the Nation, and writing strongly pro-Pearson and very anti-Yates. But Mr. Swing, when commenting impartially, has this to say, which is significant.

He says:

"Even so, there is something wrong in the Virgin Islands, that is, aside from the patronage problem. It isn't explained by Governor Pearson's corruption, since he is not corrupt.

"Nor is it explained by calling Morris Davis, the colored leader of the local proletariat and antagonist of the Pearson regime, a prejudiced agitator, which undoubtedly he is. It isn't explained by admitting that Governor Pearson has not made administration in these distant islands as efficient as it needs to be.

"The fact is that the majority of the Virgin Islanders are hostile to Pearson and the Department of the Interior which controls him. They were hostile to his predecessor; they were hostile to the Danes who once ruled the islands. They are 'agin' the government.' Why? Because the government is fundamentally against them. Not consciously, not deliberately, but in the way that so many colonial masters rule their subjects. For the Virgin Islanders, though on a high level of education and ability as native populations go, have mighty little to say about their own affairs.

"The wealth in the islands is unequally distributed: the tax burden is also unequally borne in an inverse ratio. Voting in this 'American' territory is on an income qualification, and local government is by a body chosen by this electorate with members added by the governor's appointment. Here, of course, is the real evil in the Virgin Islands, and until it is cured, there never will be peace, there never will be a popular American government or governor. And there never will be publicity measured on a normal per capita basis."

TYDINGS TO PRESS VIRGIN ISLE STUDY

New York Times

Tells President the Inquiry Will Not End Despite Ousting of Pearson.

New York.

PLACE MADE FOR WILSON

7-25-35

Dr. T. A. Stannard, Non-Political Appointee, Forced to Yield Post on Parole Board.

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, July 24.—Definite notice that the Senatorial investigation into the Virgin Islands was not concluded by the shake-up of administrative officials yesterday by President Roosevelt was given at the White House today by Senator Tydings, chairman of the Senate Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs.

The chairman called on the President late this afternoon in company with four other members of the committee, including Senators King and Reynolds, Democrats, and Metcalf and Gibson, Republicans.

During a conversation lasting more than an hour, and conducted in the most friendly atmosphere, Senator Tydings outlined to the President a plan for beginning next week a searching inquiry into the political and economic status of the islands.

He was reported to have inferred unmistakably that the whole establishment set up by Dr. Paul Pearson, who was dismissed yesterday, would have to go, and he indicated that the committee might recommend sweeping changes in the organic laws of the islands.

Personalities were put to one side by Senator Tydings with the statement that his committee would act after careful investigation on the nomination by the President of Lawrence W. Cramer, for four years Lieutenant Governor of St. Croix and an appointee of Dr. Pearson, as Governor of the Virgin Islands.

President Roosevelt's third concurrent act yesterday in revising the official complexion of the island, his transfer of District Judge T. Webber Wilson to membership on the Federal Board of Parole here, had sharp repercussions today when it was learned that a vacancy was made on the board by the virtual dismissal of Dr. T. Amy Stannard, an original member of the board appointed in 1930.

Dr. Stannard submitted her resignation, effective today, in response to a written request by Attorney General Cummings. The White House made no comment on this action.

Dr. Pearson was placed in a position in Washington by the creation for him of the post of Assistant Director of Housing in charge of public welfare, under Secretary Ickes.

Senator Tydings did not designate his talk with the President as the serving of notice that the committee would continue its investigations, but the intent was perfectly clear in the description of the conversation that the Senator gave to newspaper men after the conference.

"We talked over the situation with the President," he said. "We think steps are in progress that will straighten out the whole matter of the islands, and the committee can proceed with clarity and purpose in the situation that has developed."

7-25-35

To Study Cramer Appointment.

When Senator Tydings was asked if he had protested the promotion of Mr. Cramer, he said that the appointment had been discussed only generally. Pressed for a statement whether Mr. Cramer was satisfactory to him personally, he replied:

"I don't think any member of the committee really knows about him. We will look into his appointment."

Senator Tydings then said that there were "bound to be changes in the laws governing the Virgin Islands, with probably a wider spread of suffrage."

No decision has been made as to the future control over the islands, he said, in response to questions about reports that jurisdiction over them might be transferred to the Navy Department.

"What we are interested in now are the questions of suffrage, taxation, administration of justice and the political economy. Our purpose is not concerned with what department controls the islands, but what organic act shall govern them," he went on.

Mr. Cramer, who plans to return to the islands next week, leaving here by Wednesday if possible, said today that he would "carry on" with the major policies of his predecessors, many of whom were inaugurated on his own recommendation.

Would "Shift Emphasis."

However, he planned to "shift the emphasis" in the administration of some activities, to devote more attention to a sanitation and health program, which, he said, he wished to establish on a firmer and more permanent basis.

He discussed in some detail at a press conference the hopes and plans for rehabilitation of the islands. He said he expected no trouble on his return to the islands, though admittedly he might be "inheriting some grief" with his new honors.

"It never is possible to please everybody, but I believe that the majority of the islanders approve and appreciate what the government is trying to do for them and are glad to cooperate, which many of them are doing very successfully," he remarked.

Mrs. Cramer, who accompanied her husband here, will be unable to return to the islands for two or three weeks because of an operation performed at Johns Hopkins Hospital, where she is making a good recovery.

Senator Tydings said that his committee would probably wind up this week the phase of the investigation prompted by charges against the Pearson régime by Paul Yates, former assistant to the Governor, and then would proceed with the general study next week.

The Senate investigating committee met this morning in executive session to determine its future course, but after a few minutes adjourned and also called off an open meeting scheduled for this afternoon.

Bars Constabulary Fund.

Just before going to the White House the committee, acting virtually as a body, blocked an appropriation of $40,000 for a constabulary in the Virgin Islands, as requested by Secretary Ickes. The proposal was embodied in an amendment offered by Senator McKellar to the second deficiency appropriation.

After members of the investigating committee, including Chairman Tydings and Senators King and Metcalf, had condemned the proposal as a belligerent gesture to the people of the islands, the Senate overwhelmingly rejected the amendment. Senator McKellar's voice was the only one heard in favor of it in a viva voce vote.

The "vacancy" on the Federal Parole Board to which President Roosevelt yesterday appointed Judge Wilson, was created by the requested resignation of Dr. Stannard, a distinguished expert on abnormal criminal behavior.

Dr. Stannard's resignation was requested last Friday by Attorney General Cummings in a letter transmitted through Sanford Bates, director of Federal prisons. The fact that she had been asked to resign "in order to create a vacancy on the board" was revealed with the release today by Dr. Stannard of her letter to the Attorney General and his reply thanking her for "distinguished service rendered in a highly important post."

The Attorney General's letter read as follows:

"I am sincerely appreciative of your generous letter in which you submit your resignation as a member of the United States Board of Parole.

"You have discharged your duties with intelligence, devotion and fidelity. In accepting your resignation, I tender to you the thanks of the Department of Justice for the distinguished service you have rendered in a highly important post and my best wishes for your success and happiness in the practice of your profession."

Of the three members of the Parole Board, only Dr. Arthur Wood, chairman, has been with it since its creation. Dr. Charles Whelan, the other member, is a former physician and surgeon of Birmingham, Ala. He was appointed five months ago to succeed Judge Irvin Tucker of North Carolina.

Judge Wilson was sworn in at noon today and left immediately afterward, with the intention, it is understood, of taking a vacation.

Dr. Stannard said today that her appointment was in no way political and that the board itself was "created by Congress as an independent board, to function as such."

She declined to discuss her resignation. Of her future plans, she said only that she was not making any application for another position under her civil service status, and did not intend to re-enter the government service "in the immediate future at least."

Island Groups Oppose Cramer.

ST. THOMAS, V. I., July 24.—The former anti-Pearson factions here and in St. Croix are protesting the appointment of Lawrence W. Cramer to the Governorship of the Islands. They held a mass meeting tonight after Acting Governor Robert Herrick had denied them a permit for a parade this afternoon.

The Emancipator, opposition paper, which had criticized Governor Pearson constantly, said today editorially:

"The islanders would about as soon have Pearson himself, for under Cramer no change of policy could be expected. Poor, unknown and humble as the people of the Virgin Islands may be, they are entitled to an example of honor and courage from the Presidnt of the American republic.

"The Emancipator prefers to believe that President oRosevelt will not prove to be the light that failed for the wretched people of these islands. We prefer to believe that the man occupying the highest office within the gift of men will not betray the helpless people of the Virgin Islands. Our helplessness is a challenge to the honor, courage and chivalry of the President of the United States."

St. Thomas Mail Notes said:

"Everyone not under the influence of Judge Gibson, the Governor's revengeful enemy, and also Judge Wilson are expressing satisfaction that the plans of the archplotters have failed. We strongly urge President Roosevelt and Secretary Ickes to ignore various petitions, especially those seeking to have the Navy returned.

"Should thew not act firmly in this situation the inability of Washington to administer outlying territories will become a byword, and the Virgin Islands will fall into the same category of dissatisfaction as Puerto Rico and the Philippines."

It is reported in high circles that the Colonial Council will forward a petition to President Roosevelt Friday for the return of the islands to the jurisdiction of the Navy Department.